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"Oolrait, jokainen tyylillään!"

The Functions of *oolrait* in Finnish Online Forum Discourse

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Tiivistelmä – Referat – Abstract

Tarkastelen tutkielmassani ilmauksen *oolrait* diskurssifunktioita suomenkielisessä foorumikeskustelussa. Tutkielman tavoitteena on selvittää, mihin funktioihin tätä ilmausta käytetään ja miten diskurssifunktiot vertautuvat vastaaviin suomenkielisiin ilmauksiin *hyvä on, jees, ok, okei* ja *ookoo* sekä *oolraitin* englanninkielisiin kirjoitusmuotoihin *alright* ja *all right* suomalaisessa diskurssissa. Tarkoituksena on ensinnäkin selvittää, käytetäänkö *oolraittia* ilmaisemaan tiettyjä uniikkeja diskurssifunktioita näihin muihin ilmauksiin verrattuna ja toiseksi miten *oolraitin* funktiot suomalaisessa keskustelussa vertautuvat *all rightin* funktioihin englanninkielisessä diskurssissa.

Tutkimusaineistona oli Suomi24-foorumin keskustelut. Aineisto kerättiin verkkotyökalu Korpin avulla Suomi24-korpuksesta, joka sisältää foorumin keskusteluja vuodesta 2001 vuoteen 2016. Tutkimusaineisto kerättiin Korpin konkordanssihakua käyttäen; hakusanoina käytettiin tutkittavia ilmauksia. Aineistoa analysoitiin diskurssianalyysin menetelmällä. Tutkimukseni analyysi pohjautuu Stenströmin (1994) diskurssianalyysimalliin.

Tutkimuksen tulokset osoittavat, että ilmausta *oolrait* käytetään suomenkielisessä foorumikeskustelussa enimmäkseen vastauksena aloitevuoroon tai organisoimaan käyttäjän tuottamaa tekstiä. Nämä funktiot vastaavat myös *all rightin* keskeisimpiä funktioita englanninkielisessä diskurssissa. Tutkimuksessa havaitaan myös, että englantilaisen kirjoitusmuodon mukaisia ilmauksia *alright* ja *all right* käytetään foorumikeskustelussa pääosin samoihin diskurssifunktioihin kuin *oolraittia*, mikä tarkoittaa, että näitä ilmauksia voidaan pitää ainakin funktionaalisella tasolla saman ilmauksen variantteina. Tutkielman johtopäätös on, että valinta käyttää ilmausta *oolrait* sen englantilaisten kirjoitusmuotojen sijaan ei johdu funktionaalisista syistä, vaan valintaa ohjaa mahdollisesti tyylilliset tai identiteettiin liittyvät muuttujat. Tätä valintaa ohjaavien syiden selvittämiseksi tarvitaan kuitenkin jatkotutkimusta.

Avainsanat – Nyckelord – Keywords
anglismit, lainautuminen, diskurssianalyysi, diskurssifunktiot, diskurssimarkkerit, kielikontakti, suomen kieli

Säilytyspaikka – Förvaringställe – Where deposited
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Muita tietoja – Övriga uppgifter – Additional information

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1 Introduction

The English language has spread all over the world. Even in a weak contact situation as in Finland, English has become "a domesticated resource" (Leppänen & Nikula 2007: 367) and thus the "borderline between what is English and what is Finnish is becoming blurred" in certain contexts (*ibid.*); English is used in many domains from working life to youth magazines and the internet (see e.g. Leppänen & Nikula 2007) and, in addition, it is the primary donor for loanwords in Finnish (Itkonen 1990: 10).

It is clear that English is an integral part of the Finnish language landscape. Previous studies into the use of anglicisms and English loanwords in Finnish have attested to and investigated the use of such items as *enivei* ('anyway', Nikula 2007) and *pliis* ('please', Peterson & Vaattovaara 2014), and a recent MA thesis examined *about* in written informal Finnish (Nykopp 2017). In this study, my purpose is to extend this list of studies and to shed light on another anglicism, *oolrait* ('all right'). I focus on a certain domain of language use, that is, the language of online discussion forums. The aim of this study is to discover how the anglicism *oolrait* is used in Finnish online forum discourse with regard to its discourse functions.

As a native speaker of Finnish and a researcher of English, my interests lie where the two worlds meet; how English is used in Finland in daily life, or as Leppänen and Nikula (2007: 367) put it, English as "a domesticated resource". My interest in the form English takes in the Finnish language setting began with my Bachelor's thesis in which I studied the use and meaning of the anglicism *cookie* in Finnish. In the current thesis, I continue my passion of investigating the use of English items in Finnish but this time from a pragmatic point of view. This pragmatic approach can give answers not only to what we say but how we choose to say it. What language users want to express can take a variety of forms in language and sometimes the choices speakers make can reveal things about their background or identity, which is why I find it fascinating to study an expression such as *oolrait* which can take a variety of forms such as *alright* and *all right* in written discourse but also has native Finnish equivalents such as *hyvä on* and other originally English but nowadays very integrated counterparts in Finnish such as *ok* and *jees*. In addition, the language contact setting between English and Finnish provides an opportunity to investigate which of the variety of discourse functions *alright* has in English are borrowed into Finnish.

Finland has a population of some 5.5 million people (OSF 2017a). The two official languages in Finland are Finnish, which is spoken by 88.3 percent of the population making it the majority language, and Swedish which is the mother tongue of 5.3 percent of the populace (OSF 2017a). English is the native language of over 18,700 speakers in Finland (OSF 2017a); the number of English speakers has grown since 2002 when there were less than 6,000 native speakers in Finland (Taavitsainen & Pahta 2003: 4). Nevertheless, English has no official status in Finland, and as Taavitsainen and Pahta (*ibid*.) note, the group of native English speakers in Finland is not the source of English influence on the Finnish language. Instead, the main source of English influence comes from "media, culture, business connections, and international mobility" (Taavitsainen & Pahta 2003: 4). As a consequence, the contact between English and Finnish is mainly indirect and unidirectional and therefore the status of English in Finland is the result of a weak contact setting rather than an intense one (Zenner & Van De Mieroop 2017: 77).

When it comes to English as a foreign language, it is the most popular foreign language subject in comprehensive education; 70.5 percent of 1–6 graders study English and in secondary school (grades 7–9) 99.4 percent of all pupils study English (OSF 2017b). Thus it is hardly surprising that the younger generation uses English more than the older generation in their day-to-day life (Leppänen et al. 2011: 114). The national survey on the English language in Finland concludes that for the younger generation English is a natural part of everyday life and a resource whereas the older generation tends to view English strictly as a foreign language (Leppänen et al. 2011: 124).

Even though English has been adopted as the business language in many companies and it has in numerous research domains become the dominant language of scientific publications (Taavitsainen & Pahta 2003: 7), according to the national survey, Finnish people use English mostly in their free time rather than at work (Leppänen et al. 2011: 126). Unsurprisingly, the most frequent contact with English comes from consuming English-language media: TV, films and music (Leppänen et al. 2011: 125). Although writing in English is less frequent, the most typical context for writing English is on the internet (*ibid*.).

In their study of various language contact settings between Finnish and English, Leppänen and Nikula (2007: 368) note that Finns use English very competently in various contexts "for complex social and interactional functions".

However, it is not an issue of replacing one language with the other but a complementary relationship in which English is "mixed with Finnish in ways which display language users' situated and sophisticated negotiation of the social situation in question, without any sense of the native language being lost" (Leppänen & Nikula 2007: 369). These results are further corroborated in Leppänen et al. (2011: 140), which notes that especially among younger respondents mixing English and Finnish is not only a necessary tool for communication but a resource for self-expression and identity.

As Leppänen et al. (2011: 139–140) note, code-switching between English and Finnish is more common in speech and especially among youth. Contrastively, written genres are more regulated and tend to include less code-switching (Leppänen et al. 2011: 139). To bridge the gap between typical written and spoken language, the current study investigates written Finnish communication on the internet. The benefit of investigating an online discussion forum is that the usual constraints of monolingual norms on written language do not apply to the same extent as they would on a different written medium such as the newspaper. Of course, in speech code-switching can occur instinctively (Leppänen et al. 2011: 140), but in writing the message is planned in advance and therefore the language choices are conscious decisions. Online discussion forums offer an opportunity to look at unregulated communication in which users are free to mix Finnish and English items, and for this reason the data in this thesis consists of discussions on the Finnish discussion forum Suomi24.

In January of 2016, Suomi24 was the 6th most frequently visited Finnish website in Finland (TNS Metrix, 2017) and its user-base consists of people of all ages from 15 to 74-year-olds (Aller 2016). In addition, the Suomi24 forum is not focused on a single topic like football or music but covers a variety of topics. For this reason Suomi24 provides the perfect data source for this thesis as it has the potential to offer a general overview of *oolrait* used in a variety of contexts.

This thesis is structured as follows. Section 2 provides the background and theoretical framework for the present study in terms of the medium studied in this thesis and the linguistic terminology and theory related to the research. In Section 3, I present the methods used to gather, organize and analyze the data. Section 4 presents the results of the analysis, while the results are discussed and compared to previous research in Section 5. Finally, Section 6 concludes the thesis.

2 Background

2.1 Computer-mediated communication

The material for this study consists of a mode of computer-mediated communication (CMC in the following), that is, online forum discussions. The interaction that is produced in CMC between the forum users "via networked computers" is called *computer-mediated discourse* (Herring 2001: 612).

> The study of computer-mediated discourse (henceforth CMD) is a specialization within the broader interdisciplinary study of computer-mediated communication (CMC), distinguished by its focus on *language and language use* in computer networked environments, and by its use of methods of *discourse analysis* to address that focus (Herring 2001: 612).

Even though these online interactions are in large part text-based, computer-mediated communication cannot be classified as a form of the written medium. Instead, it combines "qualities that are typically associated with to face-to-face interactions ... with properties of written language" (Georgakopoulou 2011: 94). In addition, computer-mediated communication has possibilities beyond the traditional forms of written or spoken media; for example, CMD can facilitate fast-paced discussions between several people without the requirement of physical immediacy. However, CMD is slower than spoken interaction and lacks the various channels of face-to-face interaction, such as gestures and auditory signals, as it relies solely on a visual text-based representation of language (Herring 2001: 614).

Similarly to the written and spoken media, CMC is not a homogenous medium. One example of its variety is that CMD can be divided into synchronous and asynchronous discourse. Synchronous CMD refers to systems where participants need to be logged in at the same time to communicate, such as, in real-time chat. In asynchronous systems, like e-mail and discussion forums, the sender and addressee are not required to be logged in at the same time. This is due to the fact that in asynchronous systems the messages are stored for the users to read even after a long period of time, unlike in synchronous modes where the old messages scroll off-screen (Herring 2001: 614–615). However, as Herring and Androutsopoulos (2015: 130) point out, the traditional division does not hold for systems like Facebook chat that "enable[s] real-time chat but also preserve[s] a record of the interaction that can be accessed later". Similarly, Laaksonen and Matikainen (2013: 195) note that the distinction between asynchronous and synchronous communication is becoming less

clear as modern phones allow their users to stay online where ever they go, and thus, asynchronous communication may gain near-synchronous qualities in some cases.

Previous studies into the language used in computer-mediated communication have focused on determining and describing the typical linguistic features of various online modes, such as the language of e-mail or chatgroups (Crystal 2001). This approach to the language of CMC has also been criticized in later research (e.g. Androutsopoulos 2006, Herring 2007); Androutsopoulos (2006: 420–421) argues that earlier research has been too focused on technology and medium-specific language use and has consequently simplified the language of CMC to a homogenous genre. Thus the focus of research should be shifted from "medium-related to user-related patterns of language use" (Androutsopoulos 2006: 421). This sociolinguistic approach takes into account the diversity of language use and group practices within the various types of CMC; phenomena which earlier research has overlooked (*ibid.* 420–421). In essence, rather than being deterministic, features of CMC should be viewed as "resources that particular (groups of) users might draw on in the construction of discourse styles in particular contexts" (Androutsopoulos 2006: 421). In other words, the technological aspect should not be forgotten in CMC research but neither should it drive the study of language features.

The material used in this study represents a form of asynchronous communication. Specifically, the data consists of discussions on a Finnish online forum Suomi24. Thus, in order to understand the resources available to the users of discussion forums, I find it necessary to discuss the characteristic linguistic features of forum discourse. Therefore, in the following section I give an overview of the language used in online discussion forums, and continue by presenting the Suomi24 corpus which is used to gather the data for the present study.

2.1.1 Language on online discussion forums

In general, the discourse type in discussion forums could be classified as conversational (Herring & Androutsopoulos 2015: 129). As discussion forums represent asynchronous – and therefore slow-paced – communication, users have more time to form and check their texts before posting them and in most cases the posts can also be edited afterwards (Hynönen 2008: 186–187). Consequently, in asynchronous CMC people tend to write text that is grammatically correct and which usually consists of multiple utterances. However, it is also common to find

elements that depart from grammatical correctness, such as deviating or missing punctuation and capitalization (Herring & Androutsopoulos 2015: 131–132). Also, since the textual format lacks the possibility to give auditory signals, users may use non-standard orthography to indicate prosody or laughter (Herring 2001: 617).

The medium of CMC also affects exchange structure. For example, the turn-taking process is different from face-to-face interaction. The turn-taking system formulated by Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974: 704) states that turn allocation in face-to-face interaction follows a set of rules, that is, a type of hierarchical flowchart according to which the next speaker can be selected. The purpose of these rules is to "minimize gap and overlap" (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974: 704) in the interaction. In face-to-face interaction the next turn is primarily allocated by the current speaker. If no speaker is selected by the current speaker, another speaker may self-select. However if no-one self-selects, the current speaker may continue. These rules are applied at each transition (*ibid.*).

However , the case is different for computer-mediated interaction. Firstly, CMC does not follow the "minimal gap and overlap" policy of face-to-face interaction presented in Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974). This is especially evident in asynchronous systems, such as online forums, in which messages can be responded to after multiple weeks (Herring 1999: "Turn-taking").

The medium also sets other challenges for managing interaction; due to the lack of visual and auditory cues and the fact that the interlocutors are unable to see the message as it is being formulated, there is no possibility for simultaneous feedback in CMC, which presents a challenge for turn-taking and effective interaction (Herring 1999: "The Problem"). Also in contrast to face-to-face interaction, interaction on an online forum, for instance, does not necessarily follow the basic structure of adjacency pairs, such as a question–answer structure. In CMC, messages are posted on the platform in the order they are received, and as a consequence, responses are not necessarily adjacent to the initiating turns (*ibid.*). Also, on an online forum, a single initiation may receive multiple responses, and in turn, "single messages may respond to more than one initiating message, especially in asynchronous CMC, where longer messages tend to contain multiple conversational moves" (Herring 1999: "Turn-taking", para. 9).

User-related situational factors also affect language on forums. Since forums can be dedicated to different topics, they may also differ in their language use

(Hynönen 2008: 187). For instance, Kinnari (2012) who studied the identity construction of humanists on the Finnish discussion forum Suomi24 notes that the language in her data mostly represented standard Finnish with very few speech-like elements. This linguistic choice is attributed to the group practices of humanists, in which using standard language is a sign of "academic status" and "sophistication" (Kinnari 2012: 28–29). Other communities may have other language practices; for example, on a Finnish football forum, anglicisms and code-switching into English are common features among users due to the influence of British football culture (Kytölä 2008: 236). These two examples demonstrate that a single mode such as online forums can have variety and that the language choices reflect the community of practice and identity of the group as well as the identity of individual users.

2.1.2 The Suomi24 corpus

Suomi24 is a Finnish discussion service which is owned by Aller Media Oy (Suomi24 2016). In addition to the asynchronous discussion forum, Suomi24 also provides online dating, real-time chat and email services. The Suomi24 corpus, then, comprises more than 70 million posts from the Suomi24 discussion forum *Suomi24 Keskustelu* (Lagus et al. 2016: 5). At the moment the corpus includes discussions dated from January 1st 2001 to September 24th 2016 and comprises about 2.66 billion word-tokens (Borin et al. 2012).

However, the corpus data is not completely balanced for each year between 2001 and 2016. Firstly, the forum has not been as active in the early years as later. The year 2001, for example, only accounts for less than two percent of the word tokens in the corpus, whereas the year 2009, which was the most popular year for Suomi24 in terms of number of comments, accounts for 12 percent (Lagus et al. 2016: 21). Since 2010, however, the amount of forum comments per year in the corpus has remained more or less the same (Lagus et al. 2016: 22). Secondly, the corpus does not include all discussions and comments posted on the Suomi24 discussion forum. Some discussions are missing from the corpus data due to technical reasons (Lagus et al. 2016: 23). There are three clear drops in the amount of data; the data for the years 2005, 2007 and 2013 is missing some of the comments and therefore these years are underrepresented in the corpus (Lagus et al. 2016: 22–23).

The Suomi24 discussion forum is a free service which does not require registration; users can either participate in discussions with their own name, a nickname or anonymously (Suomi24 n.d.). The forum is categorized by topics, such as *fashion*, *pets* or *hobbies.* These main topics are then divided into narrower topics; for instance, the main topic *hobbies* includes such subcategories as *geocaching*, *crafts* and *boating*. Users can start new discussions, or threads, within the various subtopics on the forum or comment on existing discussions (Lagus et al. 2016: 6). The posts on the forum are limited to 5,000 characters (Suomi24 n.d.).

The activity of the threads can vary. The most popular threads can have near-synchronous qualities as replies may be posted within a minute. There are also less active threads that are clearly more asynchronous (Lagus et al. 2016: 32). However, a majority of the threads are only active for a few days before coming to an end (*ibid.* 29).

According to the visitor statistics gathered between October and December of 2015 (Aller 2016), the ages of Suomi24 users range from 15 to 74. Figure 1 below illustrates the age demographics of Suomi24 visitors and users in 2015:

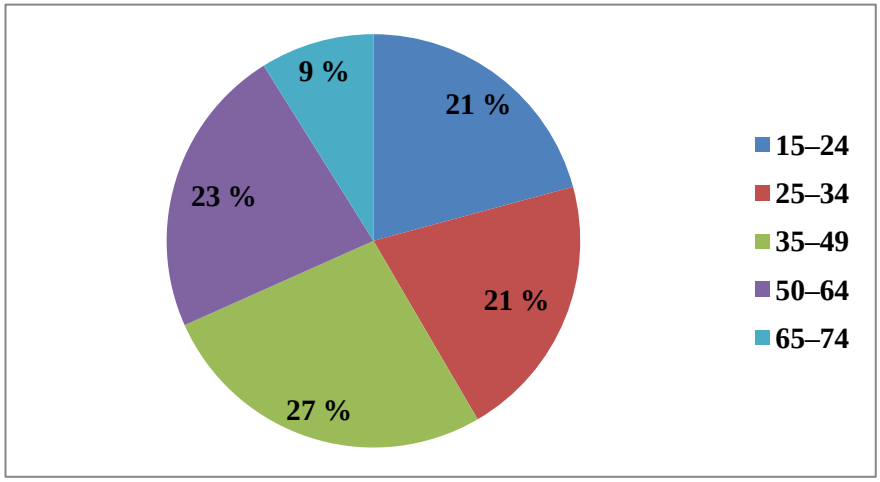

Figure 1. Age demographics of Suomi24 (according to Aller 2016)

No demographic information of the users is included in the corpus metadata, however (Lagus et al. 2016: 9). Also, the percentage of registered users in the data is between 7 and 8 per cent (*ibid.* 37) and thus most of the users are unregistered. The lack of demographic information is a common problem in sociolinguistically oriented CMD research as "traditional variationist methods ... assume that reliable information about participant gender, age, social class, race, geographical location,

etc., is available to the researcher" (Herring 2001: 621). However, as Herring (2001: 622) points out, it is also possible to study variation through other available factors, such as situational factors like discourse topic. These methodological issues are further discussed in the Methods section.

The entire corpus is available for download for research purposes but it can also be accessed through the *Korp* online interface by anyone (Lagus et al. 2016: 11). The interface allows one to, for example, search the corpus for a certain word, part of a word or even a part-of-speech since the discussions are all annotated (*ibid.* 15). However, the morphosyntactic analysis has been done automatically and for this reason the tagging is not without errors (*ibid.* 14). For the purposes of this study any issues with annotation are not relevant as the data gathering does not require searches based on part-of-speech tags.

2.2 Borrowing

Languages are in constant motion; they evolve and influence each other, which can lead to language contact phenomena such as borrowing words from one language into another. The topic of borrowing has been widely studied and most of the research on this area has focused on lexical borrowing. Many studies have explored issues such as how borrowing and types of loanwords can be defined (e.g. Haugen 1950) and how loans are adapted in different languages (see e.g. Battarbee 2002 for integration of anglicisms in Finnish), but some research has also focused on the discourse functions borrowings take in a new language setting (e.g. Andersen 2014, Peterson & Vaattovaara 2014).

In general, borrowing can defined as a process in which an element is transferred or copied from one language into another (Haspelmath 2009: 36). However, the distinction between borrowing and code-switching is a topic of some debate among linguists. Some researchers classify borrowing and code-switching as two distinct phenomena (e.g. Poplack et al. 1988), whereas others regard them as related phenomena (e.g. Matras 2009; Auer 1999: 327). In this study I follow Matras's (2009: 110–111) framework which views code-switching and borrowing as two ends of the same dynamic continuum. This framework suits the purposes of this study as I am more concerned with the functions of language than determining the exact status of a linguistic item.

Borrowings are usually morphologically and phonologically adapted into the recipient language. In his research on English phrases in Finnish chat language Kotilainen (2002: 208) notes that the most commonly occurring English phrases were typically orthographically integrated into Finnish according to their pronunciation (for example, *see you* → *sii juu*). The study concludes that English expressions are fluently and successfully used as a functional part of communication among Finns (*ibid*. 208–209). Kotilainen (2002: 206) suggests that these formulaic English expressions could be considered as integrated variant forms in Finnish, instead of foreign language insertions, among the chat community.

In addition to being integrated, borrowings can also undergo semantic change, that is, a borrowing "may lose or change its meaning(s) or develop new meanings in the receiver language" (Fischer 2008: 3). However, it is more likely for borrowings to be restricted in meaning in comparison to their original semantic range as the words are borrowed for a limited purpose (Graedler 2002: 74). Andersen (2014) suggests that the concepts of semantic narrowing, broadening and shift can be extended to pragmatic borrowing. In other words, borrowings can narrow, broaden or shift with respect to their pragmatic function or discourse context in the recipient language (Andersen 2014: 24).

In this study I focus on an anglicism, that is, "a word or idiom that is recognizably English in its form (spelling, pronunciation, morphology, or at least one of the three), but is accepted as an item in the vocabulary of the receptor language" (Görlach 2003: 1). The following section is dedicated to the anglicism *oolrait* which is the topic of this study.

2.3 *Oolrait*

The purpose of the present study is to determine the functions of the anglicism *oolrait* ('all right') in Finnish online forum discourse. *Oolrait* is an intriguing language item as it is orthographically and phonologically integrated into Finnish, but not formally recognized as Finnish in any dictionary of standard Finnish. However, in the dictionary of Helsinki slang (Paunonen 2000) the anglicism is found in three different orthographical forms: *oolrait*, *oorait* and *oll rait*. Consequently the word seems to only exist in colloquial language use, which makes online discussions a good resource for this study as anglicisms are more common in informal language use (Andersen 2014: 24).

The earliest documented mentions of *oolrait* date back to the 1930s (Paunonen 2000, entry for 'oolrait') which makes *oolrait* a very old and therefore presumably stable anglicism in Finnish or at least in Helsinki slang. It may also be relevant to think whether the word could be considered Finnish at this point. It also seems that *all right* is a common borrowing in other European languages as well; in addition to Finnish it is found in German, Dutch, Norwegian, Icelandic, Italian, Romanian, Russian, Croatian, Bulgarian, Hungarian, Albanian and Greek (DEA 2001, entry for 'all right').

In this study I aim to discover how the anglicism *oolrait* is used in Finnish online forum discourse. This question is analyzed from two perspectives. Firstly, I examine the discourse functions *oolrait* carries in the posts and secondly, how the findings compare to the functions of *all right* in English. In addition, as anglicisms can be restricted with regard to their usage in their recipient language, that is, acceptable only in certain contexts or within a certain speech group (Görlach 2003: 15), it is also worthwhile to examine the functions of Finnish equivalents for *oolrait*, *hyvä on*, *jees*, *ok*, *okei*, *ookoo* (Karttunen 1979, entry for 'oolrait' & entry for 'ok'), and to determine whether the distribution of discourse functions is different between these expressions, and also, if *oolrait* holds a unique discourse function in Finnish online discourse.

2.4 Discourse markers and interactional signals

The current study focuses on the use of *oolrait* as a *discourse marker*. This term is defined differently depending on the researcher and their approach, which is why it is important to cover some terminology related to the analysis. There are many other terms which are sometimes used synonymously to discourse markers but in some cases these terms can also signify a different theoretical approach. The terms include, for example, *pragmatic markers*, *pragmatic particles* and *discourse particles* (Aijmer & Simon-Vandenbergen 2006: 2). The term discourse marker, however, is sometimes used as the broadest, most inclusive term "with the least restricted range of application" (Jucker & Ziv 1998: 2). A general and inclusive definition for discourse markers is sufficient for the purposes of this study since the present study is not concerned with distinguishing discourse markers from other related concepts. Thus, I rely on Schiffrin's (1987: 24) definition of discourse markers as "indicators of

the location of utterances within the emerging structures, meanings, and actions of discourse".

Similarly to Schiffrin's description, Stenström (1994: 63) also defines discourse markers by their organizational function; they can be used to initiate and introduce topics as well as to mark boundaries in the conversation. Both of these definitions take into account the organizational function of *oolrait*, but since this lexical item can be used for other functions as well, such as responding to a question (see section 2.5 for further discussion), I need to extend the definition to include interactional functions as well.

Stenström (1987), for example, uses the term *carry-on signal* in her study of *all right*, but I do not find this term to be suitable for the purposes of this study. This is due to the fact that I believe the term carry-on signal to be better suited for describing spoken data. For example, some signals to "carry-on", such as backchannelling, are impossible or just not necessary in asynchronous CMC (This issue is further discussed in the following section 2.5).

However a better term can be found in Stenström's later work (1994). Stenström (1994: 61) employs the term *interactional signal* to describe lexical items which can be used as response items or to start or terminate a conversation. Since the current study is focused on an lexical item, which can serve the functions of both an organizational discourse marker and an interactional signal, these terms and their definitions need to be combined in order to fully describe *oolrait* as it is researched in this study. Thus, for the purposes of this study and for the sake of convenience, the term interactional signal is employed to refer to the expressions in this study. However, the reader should note that this descriptive term includes the organizational functions of these expressions in addition to their interactional functions.

2.5 Framework

The present study draws from the research of Stenström (1987) and her study on carry-on signals (*right, all right, that's right, that's all right, right o, it's all right*) in British English conversations. The data comprises "89 conversations of 5,000 words each, recorded and analysed at the Survey of English Usage, University College London" (Stenström 1987: 87). However, "57% of the carry-on signals occurred in telephone calls" which only amount to 11 conversations of the total 89 within the corpus (*ibid.* 115). Stenström's focus was on the interactive use of these carry-on

signals which she examined via five factors: their positions in the turn, in a sequence of moves, and within a move, in addition to their prosodic characteristics and the surrounding context (Stenström 1987: 88). Of course, I cannot include all of these factors in my analysis as I am dealing with written data and thus prosody will not be a factor in my data. On the other hand, as discussed above (section 2.1.1), it is not uncommon for online discourse that users indicate prosody via non-standard orthography in order to compensate for the lack of auditory signals (Herring 2001: 617).

Stenström utilizes a framework modified from Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975, as cited in Stenström 1987: 89) model. This framework accounts for the hierarchical structure within discourse. The model consists of five levels: transaction, exchange, turn, move, act. Essentially, one transaction consists of one or more exchanges which include at least two turns. These turns are made up of one or multiple moves and a single move may consist of one or more acts (Stenström 1987: 89–90). This model was developed for spoken discourse, but this should not prove to be a problem for my research as similar models which investigate mediated exchanges at the level of moves and speech acts have been developed for CMD research as well (see Herring 2004: 70–71).

In order to determine the carry-on signals' discourse functions, Stenström first establishes where they occur within a turn (see Figure 2 below). The square brackets indicate moves within the turn and acts are represented by angle brackets.

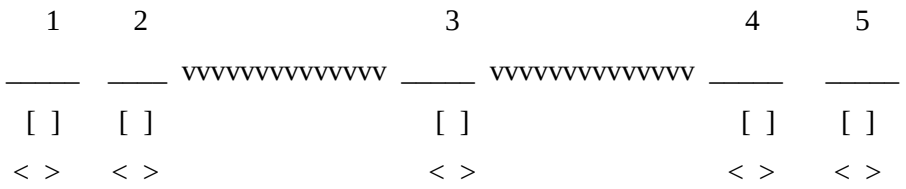

Figure 2. Stenström's model for positions in a turn (1987: 92)

Stenström's results show that *all right* is used in all positions: as a separate turn, in turn-initial, turn-medial and turn-final positions, however, the largest number of instances occur in a turn-initial position (slot 1 in Figure 2). There were 9 instances of *that's all right* in the data which occurred in slots 1 and 2 and as a turn of its own. *It's all right* occurred only 5 times altogether in the same positions as *that's all right* in addition to one instance in slot 5 (Stenström 1987: 93).

In terms of discourse functions, *all right* was mainly used for four functions; 1) as an [R] move which serves as a response to a question, 2) as a [Frame] to introduce new topics, 3) as a <prompt> for the interlocutor to acknowledge or confirm a statement, and 4) as a [closer] in an exchange (Stenström 1987: 115). Other functions were not as frequently achieved with *all right* (*ibid.* 94). I do not expect to find very many cases of *oolrait* used for a closing function since in the case of forum discourse the format defines the end of a turn and an exchange quite differently from a telephone conversation. I believe that longer closing exchanges are typical for phone and face-to-face interaction, but not for discussion forum discourse. Similarly, I would not expect to find many prompts in asynchronous communication as the interaction is slow-paced, and thus having to wait for an acknowledgement after a prompt would take too much time. However, as Stenström (1987: 99) notes a prompt is not necessarily responded to, in which case the speaker, or in this case user, continues their turn and the prompt serves a social function turn-medially instead. As speech-like elements are usual in CMD it is not impossible that I find cases where *oolrait* is used turn-medially to serve a social function. Nevertheless, I expect these cases to be rare or even non-existent in my data.

Stenström (1994) provides a more comprehensive description of the model for analyzing spoken interaction which serves as the basis for my analytical framework. Since my data is text-based and computer-mediated rather than spoken, the model needs to be adapted to fit the medium of CMC. In a previous study, Stenström's (1994) framework has been successfully used to analyze e-mail communication (Harrison 1998), and thus, the definitions for the various moves and acts as presented by Stenström can be utilized in this study as well. In the following, I explain how various terms in Stenström's model are used and understood in the context of the current study.

Stenström (1994: 4) defines a turn as "everything the current speaker says before the next speaker takes over". These turns may consist of a single word or multiple sentences. In this study all messages posted on the thread are regarded as turns. Unlike with spoken interaction, the turns are easy to distinguish as there is no possibility for overlapping speech, for instance.

Turns can either be simple or complex (Stenström 1994: 34). This depends on whether the turn consists of one move or more. Moves are the actions the speaker

takes to “start, carry on and finish an exchange” (Stenström 1994: 30). There are eight moves according to Stenström (1994: 36):

Table 1. Moves according to Stenström (1994: 36)

[Summons]	calls the listener’s attention
[Focus]	introduces the [initiate]
[Initiate]	opens the exchange
[Repair]	holds up the exchange
[Response]	continues or terminates the exchange
[Re-open]	delays the termination of the exchange
[Follow-up]	terminates the exchange
[Backchannel]	signal's the listeners attention

As the current study is concerned with CMC and the participants' turns are completed at the time the messages are posted on the forum, there is no possibility for backchannelling. Backchannels are "minimal response items", such as *mm* or *yeah* (Stenström 1994: 3) which can be used by the listener during another speaker's turn to signal attention. However, backchannels are not considered as proper turns and they usually overlap with the current speaker's turn (Stenström 1994: 5–6). As interrupting or overlapping with a turn on an online forum is impossible, I can exclude the [backchannel] move from the framework for this study.

Similarly, the [summons] move can be excluded from my analysis as well. As the data consists of interaction where the messages are intended for an indeterminate group of participants, calling for a specific participant's attention is not possible in the same way as in face-to-face or telephone conversation. According to Stenström (1994: 85) terms of address such as *Mr. President* or proper names (*Ringo, Mr. Lennon*, etc.) can be used for executing the [summons] move. However, I believe that it is improbable to find such direct forms of address in online discussion and even if such cases were present in the data it would not matter as this thesis is concerned with interactional signals. Therefore, for the purposes of the current study I amend Stenström's (1994) list of moves by removing the [summons] move.

Moves consist of acts and, similarly to turns, moves can be simple or complex. Simple moves consist of only one primary act, and complex moves

comprise a primary act and a secondary and/or complementary act (Stenström 1994: 37). The difference between primary, secondary and complementary acts lies in their capability to constitute functional moves. Primary acts are obligatory in a move and can express moves on their own. Secondary acts can sometimes replace primary acts and constitute a move but are mostly used to accompany primary acts. Complementary acts, however, hardly ever constitute an entire move on their own and are only used in conjunction with primary acts (Stenström 1994: 37–38). In other words, an <agree> act realized by *oolrait*, for example, can constitute a whole [Response] move, but a complementary act such as <uptake> cannot constitute a [Response] on its own. The <uptake> requires a primary act such as an <accept> to create the [Response]. The [Response] then is a combination of a complementary act and a primary act. Example (1) illustrates the difference between two responses to the same question (A); one consists of a simple move (B_1) and the other of a complex move (B_2).

(1) A: Answer the phone, will you? [Initiate<request>]

B_1: All right! [Response<accept>]

B_2: oh, all right! [Response<uptake><accept>]

As Example (1) shows, the <uptake> *oh* is not enough to constitute a [Response] and therefore the act is combined with an <accept> which creates a complex [Response] move. The acts according to Stenström (1994: 39–46) are listed below:

Table 2. Primary, secondary and complementary acts according to Stenström (1994: 39–46)

PRIMARY ACTS	
<accept>	agrees to a <request>, <suggest>, etc.
<acknowledge>	signals receipt of information
<agree>	signals agreement with what was just said
<alert>	calls the addressees attention
<answer>	responds to a <question>/<request>
<apology>	expresses regret
<call-off>	prompts a conversational closing
<check>	asks for clarification
<closer>	ends a conversational closing

<confirm>	responds to a request for confirmation
<disagree>	expresses disagreement
<evaluate>	judges the value of what the previous speaker said
<greeting>	greets somebody or bids farewell
<inform>	provides information
<invite>	asks if somebody 'would like to do X'
<object>	signals a different opinion
<offer>	presents something for acceptance/rejection
<opine>	gives one's personal opinion
<query>	expresses doubt or strong surprise
<question>	asks for information, confirmation, clarification
<react>	expresses attitude and strong feelings
<reject>	disagrees to a <request>, <suggest>, etc.
<reply>	responds to a <statement>
<request>	asks somebody to do something
<smoother>	responds to an <apology>
<statement>	informs or expresses opinion
<suggest>	puts forward an idea or a plan
<thanks>	expresses gratitude
SECONDARY ACTS	
<clue>	follows a primary act and gives a hint
<emphasizer>	underlines what was said in the primary act
<expand>	gives complementary information
<justify>	defends what was said in the primary act
<metacomment>	comments on current talk
<precursor>	precedes a primary act and gives information
<preface>	introduces a primary act
COMPLEMENTARY ACTS	
<appealer>	invites feedback
<booster>	assesses what the speaker him/herself says

<empathizer>	'involves' the listener
<filler>	fills a gap in the discourse
<frame>	marks a boundary in the discourse
<hedge>	helps avoiding commitment
<monitor>	helps putting something right
<staller>	plays for time
<starter>	helps getting started
<uptake>	accepts what was said and leads on

The list above differs slightly from the terms used in Stenström's (1987) previous study of carry-on signals as some moves have been renamed or moved to the level of acts. For example the [Go] move (Stenström 1987: 116) is more or less the same as [Backchannel] (Stenström 1994: 36) and the [Framing] move (1987: 116) is considered a complementary act <frame> in the later model (Stenström 1994: 46). Also the <prompt> act is renamed as the <appealer>. The new framework is also more detailed; Stenström has added to the list of primary and secondary acts and has expanded the framework with the category of complementary acts which was missing from Stenström's (1987) study. Furthermore, Stenstörm (1994) provides a better basis for using the framework to analyze my own data than the research article on carry-on signals (Stenström 1987). Therefore my analysis is based on the newer and more extensive framework (Stenström 1994), which I have adjusted to fit the purposes of the current study. However, the results of the analysis are compared to Stenström's (1987) results on the functions of carry-on signals especially with regard to *all right*.

2.6 Hypotheses

My hypotheses are that 1) *oolrait* is mostly used at the start of the sentence 2) and it mainly serves the functions of a [Response] and a <frame>. In other words, *oolrait* is mainly used to express primary functional acts that serve as responses to initiating acts (Stenström 1987: 102) and also to organize discourse, for example, to signal a transition to a new topic (Stenström 1987: 96). These hypotheses are based on Stenström's (1987) findings on the position and functions of *all right* in English (see section 2.5).

3 Methods

3.1 Gathering and organizing the data

The data was gathered using the Korp interface. I used the web tool to search for instances of *oolrait* in the Suomi24 corpus. Even though in the dictionary of Helsinki slang (Paunonen 2000) the expression appears in two other orthographic forms, *oorait* and *oll rait*, I did not include these forms in the data as they produced few results compared to *oolrait* (39 hits for *oorait* and 1 for *oll rait*). In order to gather a random sample of these items, I set Korp to sort the results randomly within the corpus. The results were then downloaded in spreadsheet format for further organizing. In this study, I also analyze the Finnish alternatives for *oolrait* such as *hyvä on* ('all right'), *jees* ('yes') and *ok, ookoo, okei* ('ok'). *OK* is one of the most widespread anglicisms in the world and it holds the same meaning as *all right* (DEA 2001, entry for 'OK'), which is why it is interesting to see if *OK* and *all right* resemble each other with regard to their discourse functions. The data also includes the two variants retaining the English spelling of *oolrait*, that is, *all right* and *alright.* These variants were chosen in the data as I suspect that, in contrast to *oolrait*, these forms may be used more in conjunction with longer code-switches to English. Finally, in addition to being used as a discourse marker and interactional signal *all right* can also be used in English as an adjective and an adverb to mean "satisfactory, in good condition" or "satisfactorily, as desired", respectively (DEA 2001, entry for 'all right'). Similarly, *oolrait* can be used in Finnish as an adjective and adverb for the same meaning. However, these instances are not included in the data as the current study is only concerned with the functions of interactional signals. Therefore instances such as "*Teppo on oolrait*" ('Teppo is all right') in which *oolrait* is used as an adjective, and certain adverbial uses such as "*Lomat menevät yleensä oolrait*" ('Holidays usually go all right') were excluded from the data. *Selvä,* which is another Finnish equivalent for *oolrait,* was also excluded from the data as it revealed to be used mainly as an adjective ("*Asia oli selvä*", 'It was a clear case') and was used as an interactional signal in less than 4 percent of the cases. Thus I was not able to gather a set of data even after sorting through 1000 results from the corpus.

For ease of statistical comparison, I chose to gather the same number of instances for each expression. Therefore, my data consists of 50 instances of each expression. This amount of data was sufficient to serve the scope of this thesis.

However, as Korp's keyword search includes adjectives and other false hits in the results, it was necessary to download a spreadsheet of at least 500 instances per expression as I could not be certain of the number of results that needed to be excluded. In order to gather the dataset of 50 instances per expression, I examined the results in order and sorted out all false hits and adjectival and adverbial uses of the expressions until I had amassed 50 instances of the expression in question used as an interactional signal. During this data cleaning process, I also excluded any instances where the linguistic variable was part of a quote (e.g. song lyrics) or a proper name (movie titles, brand names, usernames).

Since there is no demographic information available on the Suomi24 corpus, I was not able gather information about the users' gender or age, for example. However, it is possible for CMD research to make use of other variables, such as situational factors, to study variation (Herring 2004: 67). Herring (*ibid.*) lists such factors as participant structure, participant characteristics, setting, purpose, topic, tone, norms and linguistic code. The data for the current study, for example, includes information on the participant nicknames and the sections and sub-sections of the forum in which the threads are located.

3.2 Analyzing the data

In this section I illustrate how the data was organized and analyzed. Once the false results were cleaned from the data, I sorted the results into categories based on the factors introduced in the framework by Stenström (1994). Examples of each functional act found during the analysis are available in Appendix 1. This stage of the analysis required a close reading of each discussion thread for every instance. As such the study combines both qualitative and quantitative methods. The final analysis, however, is quantitative as it is based on the frequencies in each category. In the following, I describe in detail how the data analysis was conducted.

The analysis is based on Stenström's (1994) framework and it focuses on four factors. The first step was to determine the expression's position within a turn (see Figure 2 above). The possible positions were turn-initial, turn-second, mid-turn, second to last in the turn or turn-final. In addition, the expression could constitute a turn on its own. As Stenström's model was developed for studying spoken interaction and the turns in asynchronous CMC can be quite long compared to spoken dialogue, and consist of multiple sentences, I also determined the expression's position within

the surrounding sentence. I utilized the same model for establishing the expressions' positions within the sentences that I used for turns. The third factor to consider in the analysis was the functional move the expression is a part of. This was established by analyzing the structure of the discussion thread and the content of the user's message in relation to other messages on the thread. Finally, the last part of the analysis was to distinguish the functional act the expression was intended to communicate. In many cases this was the most challenging part of the analysis. In Stenström's framework many acts can be identified based on their pronunciation or intonation (see e.g. Stenström 1994: 47–48). As I am dealing with a written medium, however, such clues are not available to me, which can make the identification of functional acts difficult in some cases. Lastly, I also included information about the general context the word appears in, such as whether or not the whole message is in Finnish or if the expression occurs as a part of a codeswitch in a longer passage of English.

4 Analysis

4.1 Overview of the expressions

The purpose of this study is to determine the discourse functions of *oolrait* in Finnish forum discourse and to compare its functions to those of equivalent expressions: *hyvä on, jees, ok, okei, ookoo* and the two orthographically English variants *alright* and *all right*. In this section, I give an overview of these expressions and, in addition, I provide more specific information on *oolrait* and the situational factors in which it appears in the data. First, however, I present a brief overview of the frequency of the expressions in the Suomi24 corpus which provides the data for the current study. The results were retrieved using a case-insensitive keyword search on the Korp online interface (Borin et al. 2012).

Table 3. The frequency of the expressions in Korp

KEYWORD	RAW FREQUENCY
oolrait	345
alright	622
all right	651
jees	48,946
hyvä on	25,229

ok	382,396
okei	58,723
ookoo	5,326

As Table 3 shows, *oolrait* is the least frequently occurring item of the listed expressions. Its orthographically English forms *alright* and *all right* are nearly twice as frequent in the corpus. However, the table also shows that even the combined number of the different orthographic forms for *all right* does not come close to the number of its Finnish equivalents *hyvä on*, *jees* and the three variations of *ok*. The combined number of all three variants of *all right* in different orthographical forms is only 1,618. The staggering number of instances of *ok* is hardly surprising as it is the most widespread anglicism in the world, as mentioned above.

It is also to be noted that the results above include instances of these variables functioning as adjectives and adverbs. As was established in the Methods section above, the current study does not include these instances in the analysis. However, as the data gathering was executed by keyword search, I could not avoid retrieving instances of these expressions being used as adjectives. As these adjectives needed to be cleaned from the data by hand, I noticed that some expressions were more frequently being used as adjectives as opposed to interactional signals than other expressions. I did not keep track of the exact ratio of adjectives to interactional signals in the raw data, but in the case on *hyvä on*, for instance, out of 487 search results only 50 results were instances of *hyvä on* used as an interactional signal. The false hits included instances like "*Hyvä on!*" ('It is good!') as replies to users asking whether or not a certain product or show was any good. Based on these statistics, it seems that for the number of results for *hyvä on* in Korp (see Table 3), only 10 percent are instances where it is used as an interactional signal. Contrastively, for *oolrait* only 72 hits needed to be analyzed from the raw data to gather 50 instances. Of course, as there are no statistics about the ratio of discourse markers or interactional signals in the corpus, I cannot make any reliable conclusions about the issue. However, based on these numbers alone I could estimate that *oolrait* is used mainly as an interactional signal rather than as an adjective, and also that frequency of the interactional signal *hyvä on* in the entire corpus is most likely lower than what is presented in Table 3 above as these results seem to include many false hits.

The focus of the current study is on *oolrait*. Therefore, in the following, I provide information on the context in which these 345 instances occur in the corpus. As the Suomi24 corpus does not include any demographic information on the participants in the data, the current study has to rely on other available situational factors such as the discussion topics. First, I present Figure 3 which illustrates the distribution of the 345 instances of *oolrait* in the corpus by year.

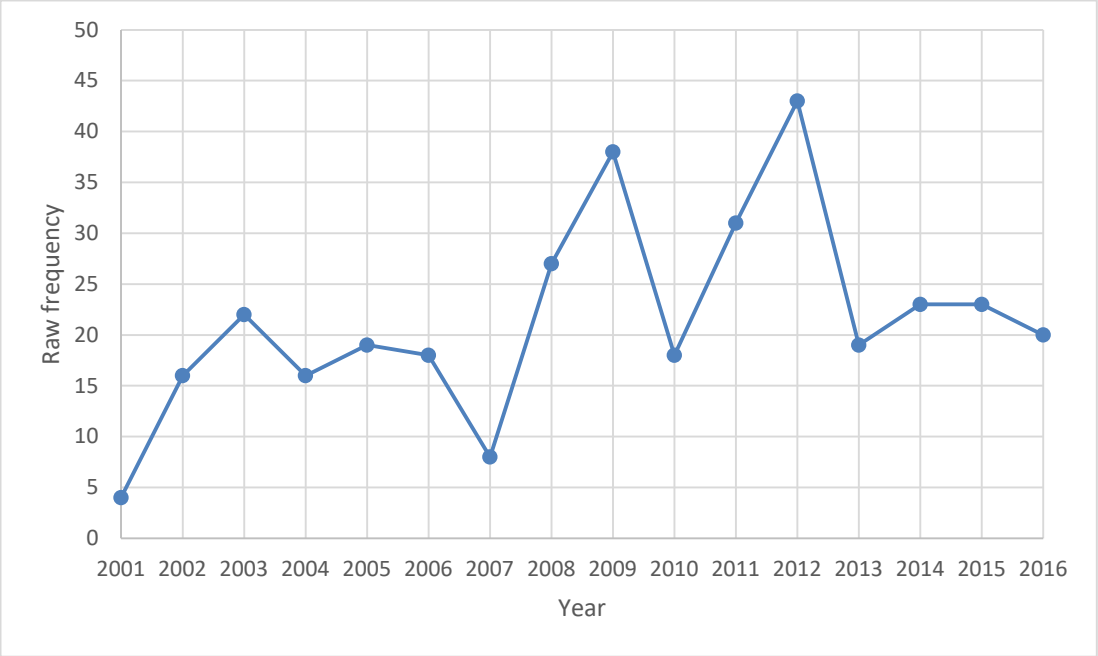

Figure 3. The frequency of *oolrait* by year

Figure 3 shows that there are two spikes in the use of *oolrait* in the Suomi24 corpus, the years 2009 and 2012. As was mentioned in Section 2.1.2 above, 2009 was a very active year on the Suomi24 forum (Lagus et al. 2016: 22), which may explain the spike for *oolrait* as well. The year 2001, which only contributes to less than two percent of the tokens in the Suomi24 corpus (Lagus et al. 2016: 21), has the fewest instances of *oolrait*. Also the lack of data from the year 2007 in the corpus shows in the figure as a decline in frequency.

The following figure displays the discussion areas in which *oolrait* occurs.

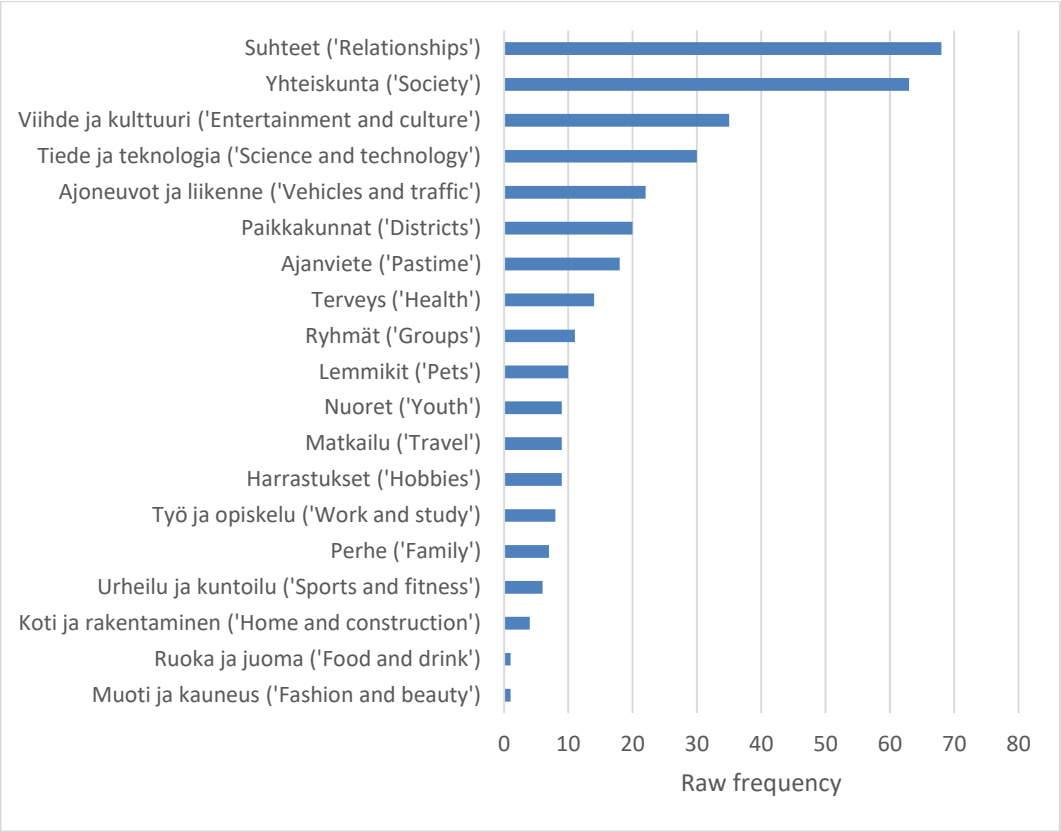

Figure 4. The frequency of *oolrait* by discussion area

Figure 4 shows that *oolrait* is mostly found on the discussion areas *Relationships* and *Society* which happen to be the most popular discussion areas in the corpus. In fact *Society* accounts for 30% of all word tokens in the corpus while *Relationships* accounts for 12% (Lagus et al. 2016: 24). Therefore, it is not likely that *oolrait* would be a topic-specific expression. As Figure 4 illustrates, *oolrait* is used in various discussion topics from sports and fashion to vehicles and science.

4.2 Position

In this section I present the results of the first part of the analysis, that is, the position in which each expression occurs within a turn and a sentence. Figure 5 below shows the distribution of *oolrait, alright, all right, jees, hyvä on, ok, ookoo* and *okei* within the user's turn. A turn in this study is understood as one message on the discussion thread. The numbered positions 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 refer to the slots in Stenström's model (see Figure 2).

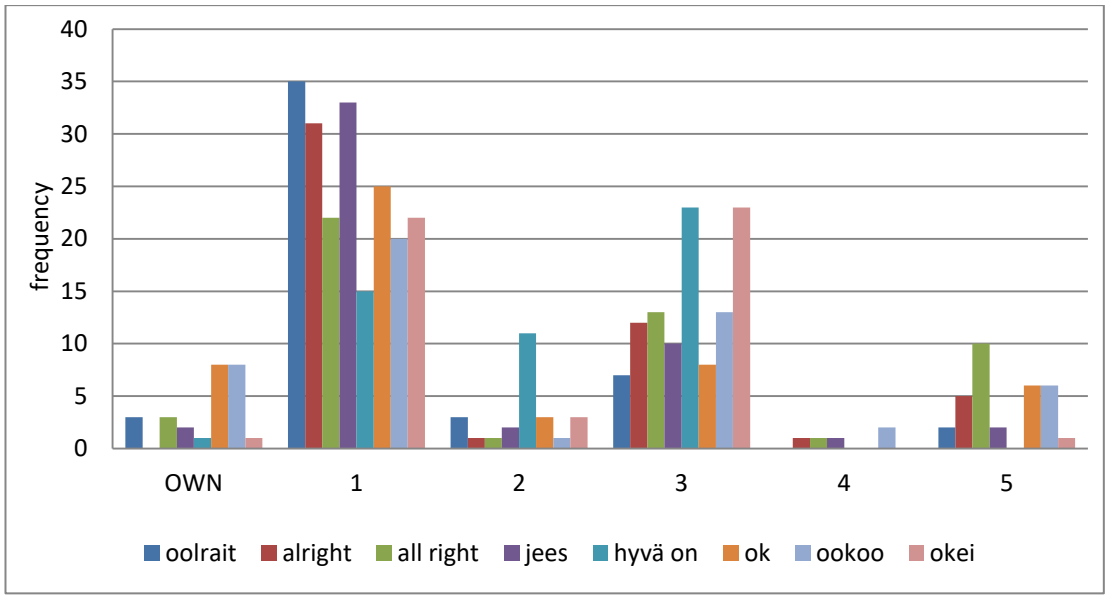

Figure 5. The position of the expressions within a turn

Figure 5 illustrates that *oolrait*, *alright*, *all right*, *jees*, *ok* and *ookoo* all have a rather similar distribution with regard to their position in the turn. Firstly, these expressions all occur most frequently in the turn-initial position. In addition, the second most frequent position for the above mentioned expressions is the mid-turn position. However, *all right* is slightly more often found in the middle and at the end of the turn than *oolrait* and *alright*, for example. Therefore, *all right* is more evenly distributed between the turn-initial, mid-turn and turn-final slots in comparison to *oolrait* and *alright* which are more clearly aligned towards the turn-initial position. Contrastively, *hyvä on* and *okei* behave differently according to the figure; both of these items are most frequently found in the middle of a turn. In contrast to the other expressions *hyvä on* is also more frequently found second in the turn. None of these expressions is very frequently used on their own to constitute a turn, nonetheless, *ok* and *ookoo* are clearly used on their own more so than the other expressions.

The mid-turn position does not reveal very much about the expressions as the turns can consist of multiple sentences. As this is one of the most frequent positions for the variables, it is important to examine the expressions' positions within the sentence. A sentence, in this case, is understood as a string of words separated by full stops, exclamation marks or question marks.

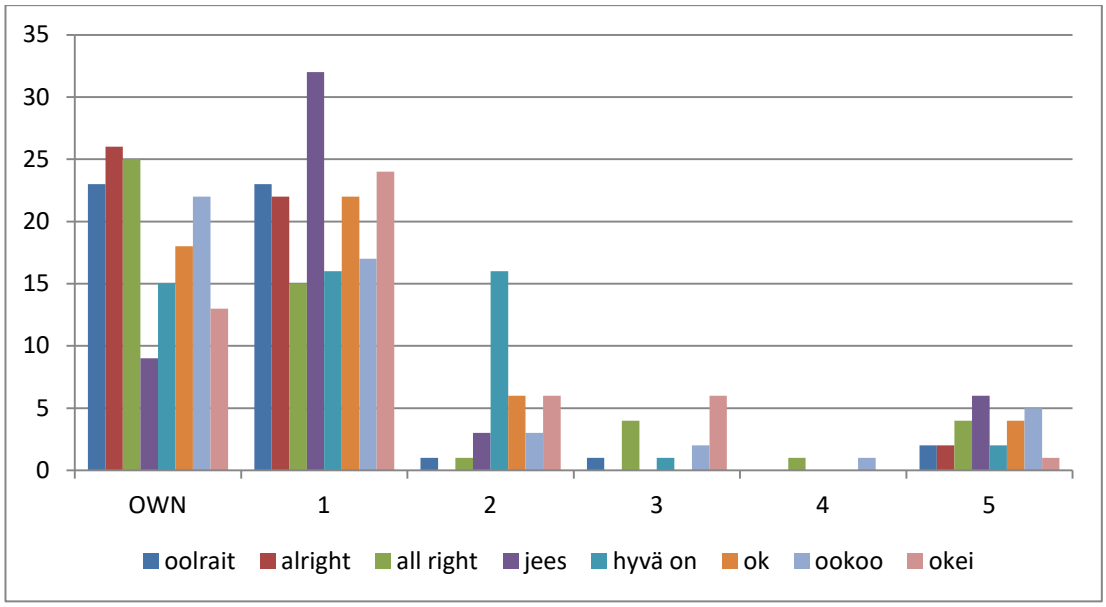

Figure 6. The position of the expressions within a sentence.

Figure 6 shows that the expressions are generally found at the start of a sentence or alone constituting a whole sentence. Therefore, it seems that most of the mid-turn occurrences in Figure 5 consist of these expressions occurring on their own in a sentence or starting a sentence. A closer inspection of the individual items shows that *oolrait* and *alright* are used similarly. For both variants, almost all 50 instances are evenly distributed between the sentence-initial position and occurring on their own. There are only a few instances of sentence-final position. *Oolrait* is also singularly found in the second and mid-sentence positions. *All right* occurs equally often on its own, but is less frequently found in the sentence-initial position in comparison to *oolrait* and *alright*. This is due to the fact that *all right* is slightly more often found in the sentence-final and mid-sentence positions. The slightly different distribution of positions between *oolrait*, *alright* and *all right* may be explained by the functional acts they are used for in the data. The moves and acts are discussed and analyzed in the section 4.3 below.

The distribution of *ok*, *ookoo* and *okei* is similar in that they are all most commonly found in the sentence-initial position and on their own. However *ookoo* is most frequently found on its own, whereas the most frequently occurring position for *ok* and *okei* is the sentence-initial position. *Okei* also occurs in the second and mid-sentence positions, although not very frequently. There is also a singular occurrence

of *okei* in the sentence-final position in the data. In comparison, *ok* and *ookoo* are slightly more frequently found in the sentence-final position.

Hyvä on occurs in nearly equal numbers in the first and second positions and on its own. In other words, it is used mainly at the start of a sentence and, similarly to *alright* and *oolrait*, it is rarely found in the middle or end of a sentence. Compared to the other expressions *hyvä on* is noticeably frequently found in the second position. The data reveals that in all cases but one *hyvä on* is preceded by *no* ('well'). Finally, the last item *jees* is least frequently used to constitute a sentence on its own. In comparison to the other expressions, *jees* occurs more frequently at the sentence-final position, nevertheless, it is mostly found at the start of a sentence in accordance with all the other items.

These results suggest that none of these items is mostly used for the purpose of prompting another participant. According to Stenström (1994: 66) <appealers> are usually found at the end of the turn. Appealers include question tags and discourse markers like *all right* which can be used for requesting confirmation or to invite feedback. As Figures 5 and 6 illustrate, the final position is not frequent in the data. For this reason, it is safe to assume that *oolrait* mainly serves a different discourse function. Thus, in order to discover its discourse functions, the next section explores the functional moves and acts found in the analysis.

4.3 Moves and acts

In this section, I first present the analysis of the moves in which the expressions were found and then, I move to investigate the functional acts *oolrait, alright, all right, jees, hyvä on, ok, ookoo* and *okei* were used to express. Finally, I explore the relationship between the moves and the acts with regard to the expressions.

The Suomi24 exchanges were analyzed to determine the functional moves the variables were a part of. Table 4 below lists the distribution of functional moves for *oolrait, alright, all right, jees, hyvä on, ok, ookoo* and *okei*.

Table 4. The expressions as part of moves

	[Follow-up]	**[Response]**	**[Initiate]**	**[Repair]**	**[Re-open]**	**TOTAL**
oolrait	20	21	8	1	0	**50**
alright	20	18	11	1	0	**50**
all right	13	20	17	0	0	**50**

jees	8	31	9	1	1	**50**
hyvä on	2	35	13	0	0	**50**
ok	21	17	12	0	0	**50**
ookoo	14	25	11	0	0	**50**
okei	7	22	20	1	0	**50**

Table 4 shows that, again, *oolrait* and *alright* are used in a similar fashion; they are both mainly used in [Follow-up] moves to terminate an exchange or in [Response] moves to either terminate or continue the exchange. Follow-ups are aptly named as they follow responses and terminate the exchange. Example (2) below illustrates a typical [Follow-up] move from the data. The whole discussion thread is comprised of these three messages between two users. There are three unique usernames in the thread, but it is not uncommon for unregistered users on Suomi24 to change their username with every post. Therefore considering the context of this conversation, it is safe to assume that the first and last user are the same person.

(2) wlan usb mikä lie:

Myönnän heti, että tyhmä kysymys, mutta kun en tiedä niin en tiedä.

Usb-wlan -tikku hajosi ja pitäisi päästä nettiin kotoa myös langattomasti. Voiko langattoman hiiren pikku usb-päätä (n. sentin mittainen) käyttää PC:n wlan-tikkuna tai langattoman näppäimistön vastaavaa?

'I admit straightaway that this is a stupid question, but I just don't know.

The Usb-wlan stick broke and I'd need to get online from home wirelessly. Is it possible to use the tiny usb receiver for my wireless mouse (about a centimeter long) or a similar one for the keypad as a wlan stick for the PC?'

Kollimaattori:

Ei voi. Ovat samoilla taajuusalueilla, mutta eri tekniikkaa.

'No you can't. They work on the same frequency but the technology is different.'

Tikku..:

***Oolrait**, kiitos vastauksesta Kollimaattorille!*

'**Oolrait**, thank you for the response Kollimaattori!'

(thread id 11240084)[1]

[1] All thread ids in the data are listed in Appendix 2.

In the first post, user *wlan usb mikä lie* ('wlan usb whatever') makes an initiating move, that is, asks a question. This [Initiate] is responded to by user Kollimaattori. Kollimaattori's [Response] could have very well ended the exchange, as the question receives an answer and thus the minimal requirements to constitute an exchange are filled (Stenström 1994: 30). Nevertheless, the initiating user decides to use *oolrait* in a [Follow-up] move which then terminates the exchange above. According to Stenström (1994: 125) [Follow-up] moves are especially typical for requesting and questioning exchanges which is the case in Example (2); the [Follow-up] politely acknowledges Kollimaattori's answer and makes the interaction more complete and also more social.

In contrast, Example (3) below demonstrates an exchange that does not include a [Follow-up], but *oolrait* is instead used in a [Response] move in reply to an initiation, in this case a suggestion from the user who started the thread:

(3) palstan taikaa:

> *niin ensi kerralla, kun näemme, sinä nainen juokset kiljuen syliini ja kerrot tuntevasi minua kohtaan SUURIA tunteita. ;)*
>
> 'the next time we meet, you, woman, will run screaming into my arms and tell me you have BIG feelings for me. ;)'

kultatukka:

> ***Oolrait**, voidaan kokeilla. Sinä kyllä pyörryt ensimmäisenä, pupuli :-)*
>
> '**Oolrait**, we can try that. You'll be the first one to pass out though, honey bunny :-)'

(thread id 11731349)

The exchange in Example (3) does not include a [Follow-up] move which would evaluate user kultatukka's answer, as in Example (2) above, and therefore the [Response] terminates the exchange.

In order to make the information in Table 4 above more accessible for a comparison of the expressions, Figure 7 below illustrates the proportion of moves by each expression.

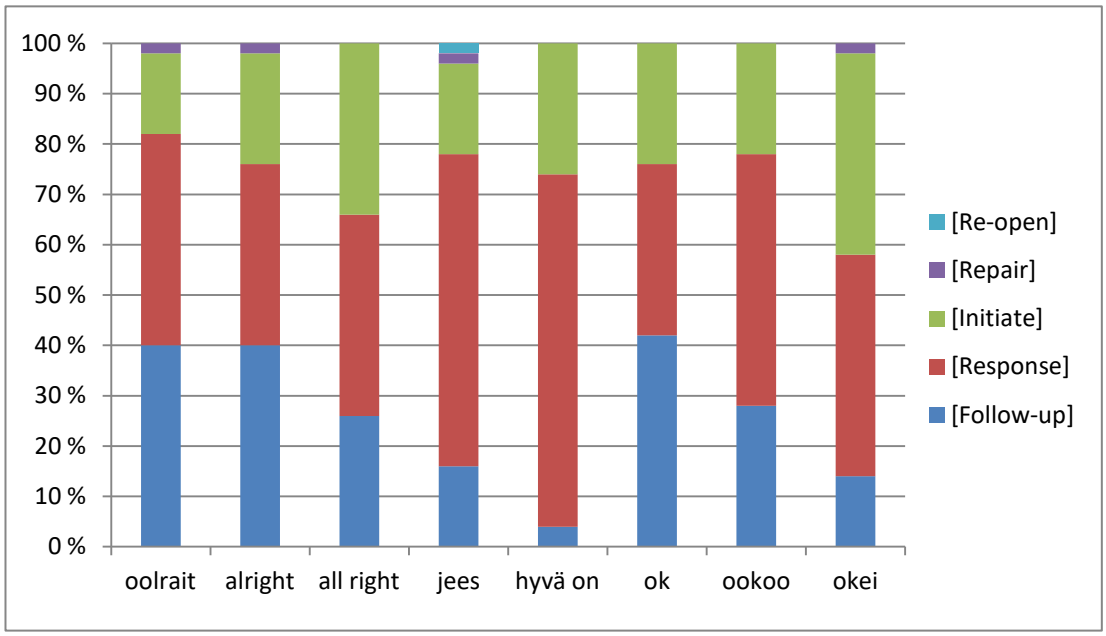

Figure 7. The distribution of moves by expression

As Figure 7 shows, the distribution is more or less the same for *oolrait*, *alright* and *ok*. They are most frequent in [Follow-up] and [Response] moves. Contrastively, *all right* is more frequently found in [Response] and [Initiate] moves than in [Follow-up] moves. *Jees* and *hyvä on* are much more frequently used in [Responses] and rarely occur in [Follow-ups]. *Okei* occurs in [Initiate] moves more often in comparison to the other expressions and is infrequently used in [Follow-up] moves. Finally, *ookoo* is mostly used in [Responses]. [Repairs] and [Re-opens] are very infrequent in the data. This is perhaps due to the fact that the [Repair] holds up the exchange until a clarification or confirmation is given (Stenström 1994: 106), and these expressions are not suited for the function of asking for information or clarification.

In pursuit of a clearer picture on the discourse functions of *oolrait* and its equivalents, it is necessary to examine the functional acts the variables were found to express. Thus, in the following, I present the primary, secondary and complementary acts *oolrait, alright, all right, jees, hyvä on, ok, ookoo* and *okei* express in the data. Table 5 gives an overview of the raw frequencies for each expression:

Table 5. Raw frequency of acts by expression

	oolrait	*alright*	*all right*	*jees*	*hyvä on*	*ok*	*ookoo*	*okei*
<acknowledge>	26	19	13	3	8	31	19	9

<frame>	10	10	13	8	21	7	11	28
<rhetorical agree>	1	5	3	1	5	1	2	1
<accept>	6	4	4	0	11	2	5	5
<emphasizer>	1	4	6	7	0	1	0	0
<react>	0	2	3	6	0	0	1	0
<agree>	1	2	4	12	5	3	3	1
<uptake>	1	2	0	10	0	0	2	6
<appealer>	3	1	4	0	0	5	5	0
<evaluate>	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0
<smoother>	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<confirm>	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
<answer>	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	**50**	**50**	**50**	**50**	**50**	**50**	**50**	**50**

Table 5 shows that the most common function for *oolrait* and *alright* is the <acknowledge> act. The <acknowledge> is used, for example, in [Follow-up] moves to ratify the other user's [Response], as in Example (4), or in [Response] moves to reply to statements, as in Example (5).

(4) juujoozz:

Mitä SSD suosittelisit, toho settiin?

'Which SSD would you recommend for this setup?'

vapunen:

Tätä: [www-osoite]

'This one: [web address]'

juujoozz:

***oolrait**. thanks*

'**oolrait**. thanks.'

(thread id 12538988)

(5) Nedda`:

Olen palannut palstalle entistäkin kriittisempänä.

'I have returned to the forum more critical than before'

atac:

***Alright**. Ja miten se kriittisyys nyt ilmenee?*

'**Alright**. And how does your criticalness manifest itself?'

(thread id 12509528)

The high frequency of <acknowledge> acts is not a surprising result as the previous section showed that *alright* and *oolrait* are often found in [Follow-up] moves. As Table 5 shows, *all right* is also used as an <acknowledge> but it is equally as often used as a <frame>. Similarly to *oolrait* and *alright*, *ok* and *ookoo* are mostly used to express an <acknowledge> act. *Jees*, *hyvä on* and *okei* are not used to the same extent for this purpose. *Hyvä on* and *okei* are most frequently used as a <frame> to mark boundaries in discourse. The other expressions are also used for the same function, only less frequently. *Hyvä on* is also used as an <accept>, that is, to agree to suggestions and requests, and as an <agree> to agree with another user. *Jees* is also often used for the function <agree> but also for the <uptake> function. All the various functional acts found in the analysis are listed in Appendix 1 of the thesis.

During the analysis, I also found some unclear cases which were difficult to categorize according to the framework in Stenström (1994). However, they followed a similar pattern; the user asks a rhetorical question or makes a statement based on a another user's post, and then agrees with this statement. Example (6) illustrates this usage. The topic of the discussion thread is a news story of a police officer who had used a taser gun on a 14 year-old. The user *voi hellan lettas* comments on the story:

(6) voi hellan lettas.:

No mutta, eihän äidin pikku kullan nuput tehneet mitään väärää... Kyllä, poliisit toimivat aivan OIKEIN!
Älkää ihmiset valittako, jos tekee rikkeen, niin siitä seuraa rangaistus.
Jos ei totella, niin poliisilla on oikeus käyttää voimakeinoja.

'Well but, mom's little darlings never did anything wrong... The police acted RIGHT! You can't complain, people, if you break the law, you get punished. If you do not comply, the police have the right to use force.'

Kiitos neuvosta:

OIKEUS TAPPAA?
OOlrait!
Pidetään tämä!

'THE RIGHT TO KILL?
OOlrait!
Let's go with that!'

(thread id 10831613)

On the first look, it seems like the user *Kiitos neuvosta* is agreeing with *voi hellan lettas*. However, since the user is not actually agreeing with the other participant but with their own conclusion, this usage of *oolrait* cannot be categorized as an <agree>. Instead, the user only sarcastically agrees with their own statement to make their argument. In Example (6), it is almost as if *Kiitos neuvosta* uses *oolrait* to follow-up to an imagined response to the rhetorical question. However, since interrupting a turn in CMC is not possible, the function of *oolrait* remains purely rhetorical. These instances did not quite fit the description for <emphasizer> or <booster> acts either, and for this reason and the reasons described above, instances similar to Example (6) were categorized under <rhetorical agree>. In the case of *alright*, four of the five instances of <rhetorical agree> are from the same registered username. Therefore, for this functional category, the language patterns of one serial offender are over-represented in the data.

Although some discourse functions could be accomplished using any of the eight expressions, not all expressions were used to carry out every act listed in Table 5. Figure 8 below illustrates the ratio of expressions per act. From this figure it is easy to see which items were used to express certain discourse functions. The figure does not represent the proportion of each act in the data, only the distribution of expressions per each act. Therefore the acts cannot be compared with each other in terms of number of occurrences in the data. Figure 8 does, however, help to illustrate whether there are certain acts that are unique to only few expressions in the data.

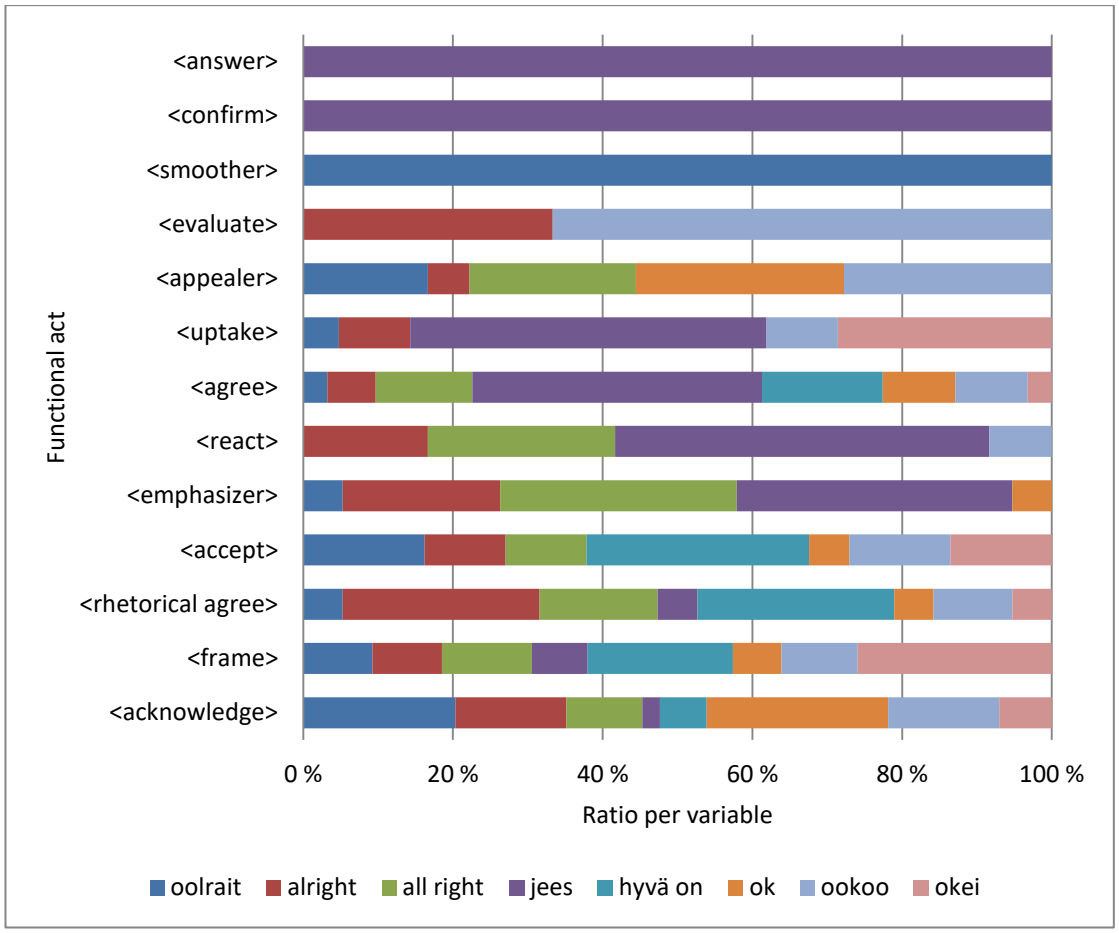

Figure 8. Ratio of expressions per act

Figure 8 shows that some functions could be achieved with all expressions; <agree>, <rhetorical agree>, <frame> and <acknowledge> were all found to be performed with *oolrait*, *alright*, *all right*, *jees*, *hyvä on*, *ok*, *ookoo* and *okei* in the data. Some functions were only achieved with certain expressions. Only *jees* was used to <answer> and <confirm>, *oolrait* was used as a <smoother> to an apology, and *alright* and *ookoo* were used as an <evaluate> to judge what a previous user had said. Disregarding the singular instances of the <smoother>, <evaluate>, <uptake> and <react> acts, *oolrait*, *alright* and *all right* share the same discourse functions in the data. Figure 8 also shows that there is an act that is expressed with only *oolrait, alright, all right, ok,* and *ookoo* that is, the <appealer>. <Appealers> are used to prompt another participant to give feedback and *all right* happens to be a typical appealer in English (Stenström 1994: 80). Examples (7)–(11) provide examples from the data of each *oolrait*, *alright, all right*, *ok* and *ookoo* realized as <appealers>:

(7) *Siispä: mulle ei ole ongelma, jos joku on homo ja hyväksyy sen.* ***oolrait****?...*

'Therefore: it's not a problem for me if someone is gay and accepts it. **oolrait**?...'

(thread id 4223223)

(8) *Että laittakaahan tulemaan bändien/artistien TOP-5 perustelut... **Alright**? :)*

'So post your TOP-5 bands/artists with reasons... **Alright**? :)'

(thread id 122397)

(9) *Ja muitten haukkuminenkin on pahaa. **All right**?*

'And bad-mouthing others is bad too. **All right**?'

(thread id 10154893)

(10) *Hei jengi, rauhoitutaan ja ollaan ystävällismielisempiä toisillemmme **ok**??*

'Hey gang, let's calm down and be more friendly with each other **ok**??'

(thread id 13518002)

(11) *Come on. Lue. Sisäistä. **Ookoo**?*

'Come on. Read. Internalize. **Ookoo**?'

(thread id 12746907)

It should be noted, however, that some of these acts are very few in the data. As Table 5 reveals, there are only two instances of <confirm> and only one instance of <answer>, <smoother> and <evaluate>. In order to get a better understanding of the frequencies per act, I present Figure 9 which illustrates the combined raw frequencies of *oolrait, alright, all right, jees, hyvä on, ok, ookoo* and *okei* per functional act:

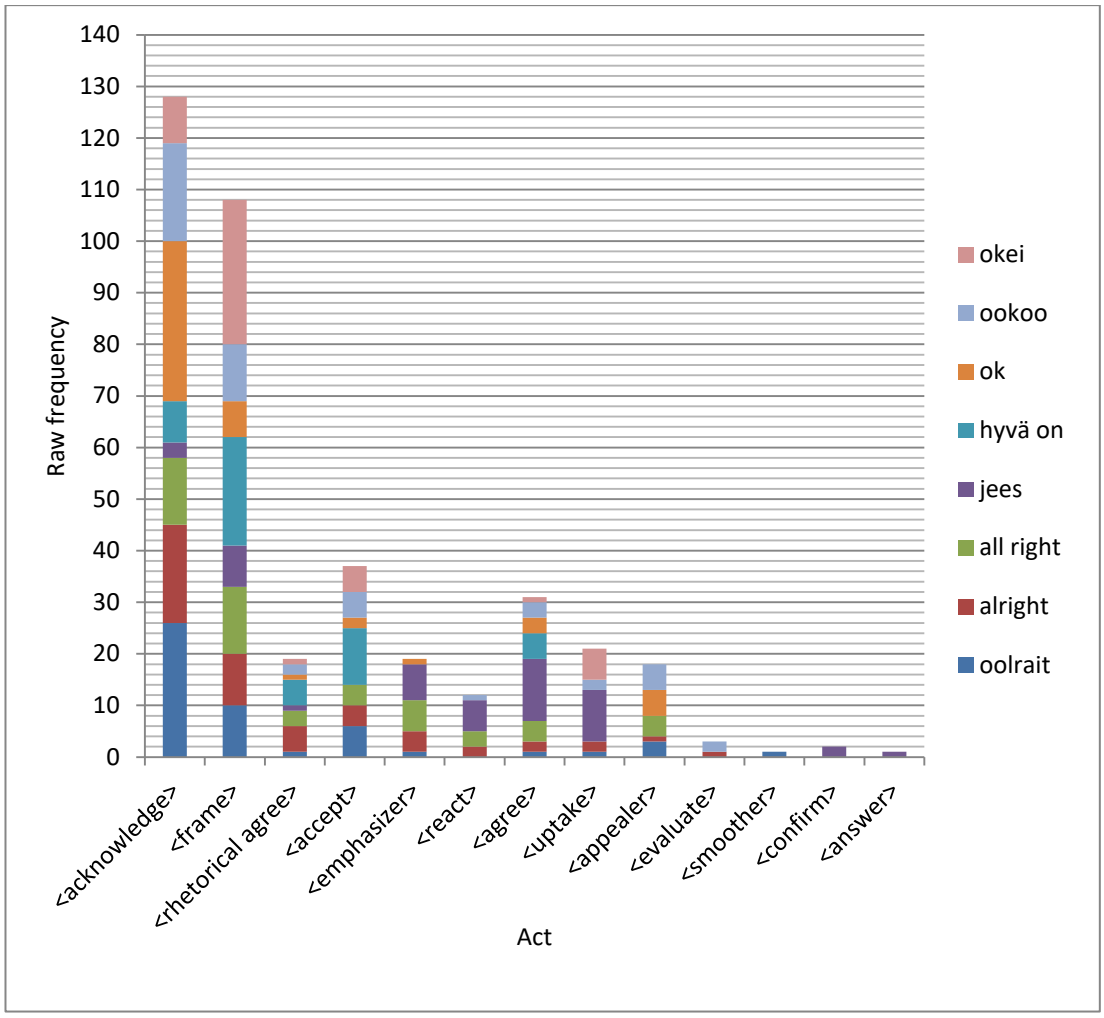

Figure 9. Combined raw frequencies per act

Figure 9 above shows that <acknowledge> and <frame> are the most frequent categories in the data by a large margin. In fact, the third and fourth most frequent acts, <accept> and <agree>, are less than half as frequent. Disregarding <frame> which is a complementary act, the above mentioned acts are all primary acts and they are used in similar contexts. <Acknowledge> and <agree> acts are used as replies to <statements> whereas the <accept> act agrees to <request>, <invite>, <offer> and <suggest> acts (Stenström 1994: 118 & 39).

The analysis of the functional moves (see Figure 7) illustrates that the data consists mostly of [Follow-up] and [Response] moves and the discussion above shows that out of the four most frequent functional acts, three seem to be replies of one kind or another. One could reasonably assume that the high frequencies of <agree>, <accept> and <acknowledge> may explain the proportion of [Response] moves in the data. Therefore, in the following I explore the moves in relation to the

acts that accompany them. [Repair] and [Re-open] moves are excluded from the discussion as they are too rare in the data to provide any insight.

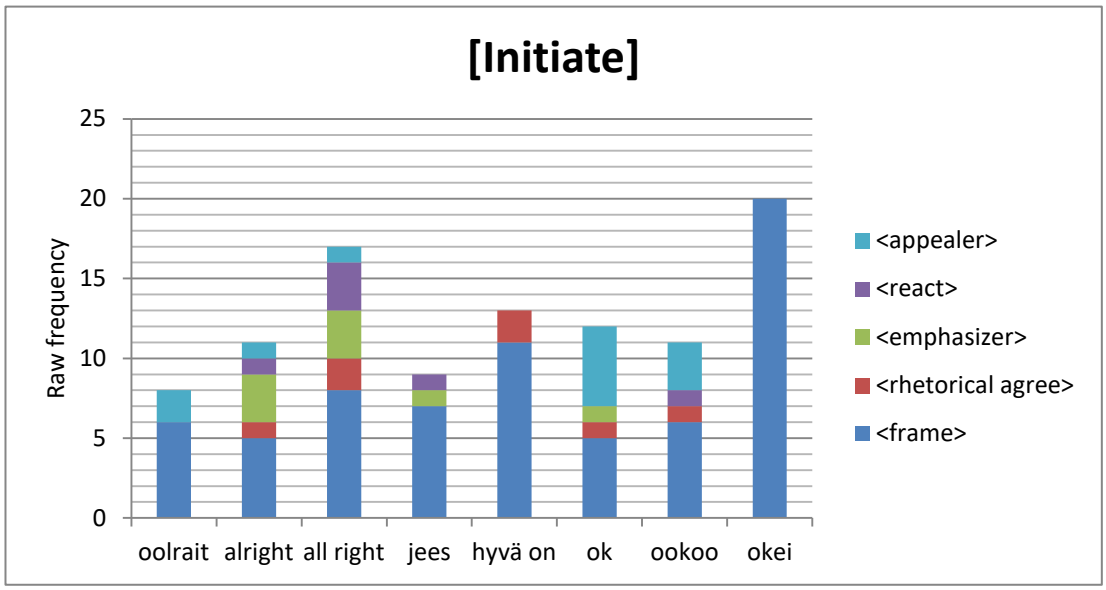

Figure 10. Acts in [Initiate] moves per expression

Figure 10 presents the frequency of acts in [Initiate] moves. Figure 7, which presents the proportion of moves per expression, illustrates that the [Initiate] is not the most frequent move for any of the expressions. In fact, for *oolrait*, *alright*, *ok* and *ookoo* [Initiate] is the least frequent move in the data if we exclude the few [Repair] and [Re-open] moves. For *all right*, *jees*, *hyvä on* and *okei* it is the second most frequent move. Figure 10 reveals that the expressions are mostly used in [Initiate] moves as secondary acts (<emphasizer>) and complementary acts (<frame>, <appealer>). I have also classified my own category <rhetorical agree> under secondary acts. The only primary act is <react>, of which there are two instances. In both cases the user is reacting to their own story or statement. However, the most typical function for all expressions in [Initiate] moves is the <frame>. This explains partly why <frame> is the second most frequent function in the data (see Figure 9).

In the case of *oolrait*, the <frame> in [Initiate] moves usually introduces the thread-initial post. In other words, it is used to signal the start of a new topic. Example (12) illustrates this with an instance from the data:

(12) ***Oolrait**, tän paketin pitäis kattaa kaikki tarvittava, joten puuttuvista essentiaaleista voi huomautella.*

'**Oolrait**, this package should cover everything necessary, so you can point out if anything essential is missing.'

(thread id 13558398)

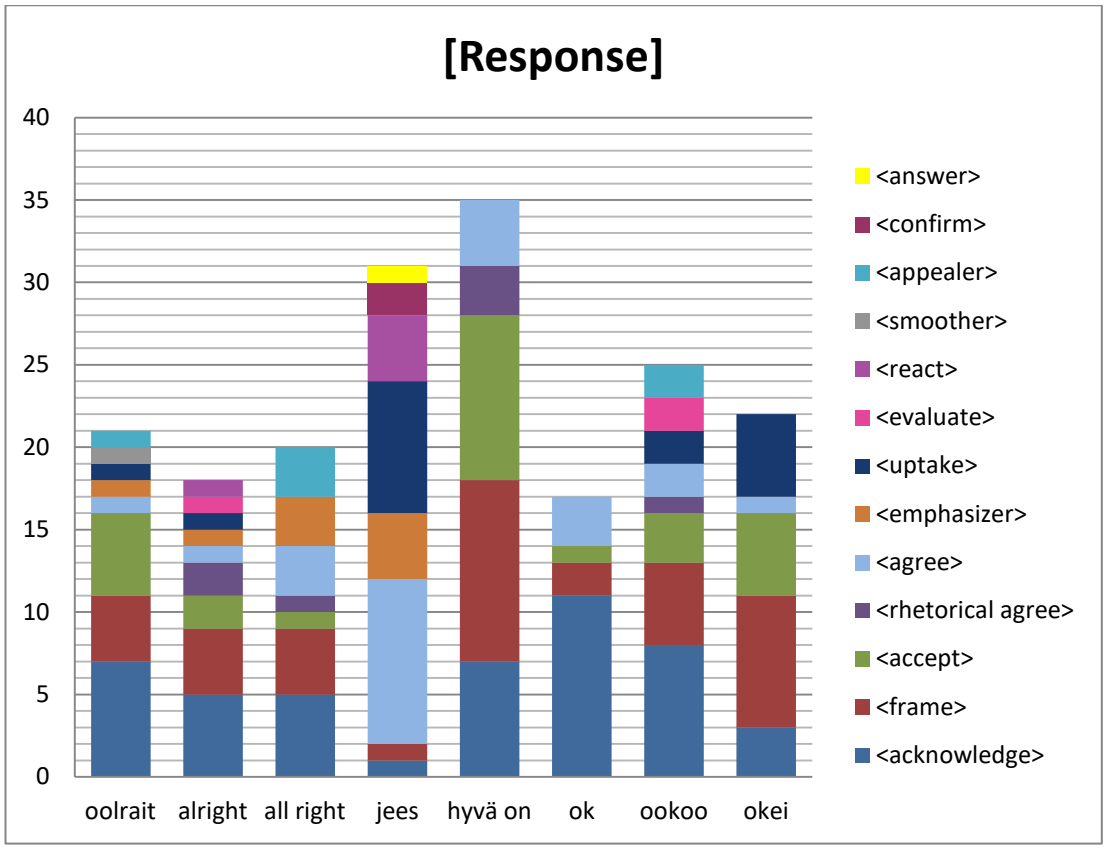

Figure 11. Acts in [Response] moves by expression

Figure 11 above presents the frequency of acts per expression in [Responses]. Contrastively to the distribution in [Initiate] moves, the [Responses] are much more varied with regard to the number of acts. However, many of these functions are found only once or twice in the data per expression. Nevertheless, it seems that the variables are used to express certain functions more frequently than others.

The figure reveals that *oolrait*, *alright* and *all right* share their most frequent functions in [Responses]; they are used mainly as an <acknowledge> and a <frame> but are also found to express <accept> and <agree> acts. However, *oolrait* and *alright* are used more for the <accept> function, whereas <agree> is more frequent for *all right*. *All right* is also used as an <emphasizer> and an <appealer>. The rest of the functions *alright* and *oolrait* were found to express are individual instances of <emphasizer>, <uptake>, as well as, <smoother> and <appealer> for *oolrait* and <evaluate> and <react> for *alright*.

Hyvä on is used for the same four functions as *oolrait, alright* and *all right*. It is most commonly used as a <frame> and an <accept> in [Response] moves, but also as an <acknowledge> and an <agree>. In addition, as the figure shows, *hyvä on* is also the most frequently found variable in [Response] moves.

Jees has a very different distribution in terms of the functions it expresses in [Responses]. It is used mainly as an <agree> and an <uptake>, that is, as a link to the post the user is responding to, but it is also used quite frequently as a <react> and as an <emphasizer>. In addition, *jees* is found to be realized as an <answer>, a <confirm>, a <frame> and an <acknowledge>.

In [Responses] *ok* and *ookoo* are mostly used as an <acknowledge>. In contrast, *okei* is not used for the <acknowledge> function as frequently. Instead it is mostly used as a <frame> and also to express the <accept> and <uptake> acts.

The ratio of primary acts to complementary and secondary acts regarding the variables in [Initiate] moves is rather apparent from Figure 10 as the functions are not too varied. However, since the [Responses] in Figure 11 are so fragmented in terms of acts, it is difficult to see whether the expressions are used more frequently for primary functions or complementary and secondary functions.

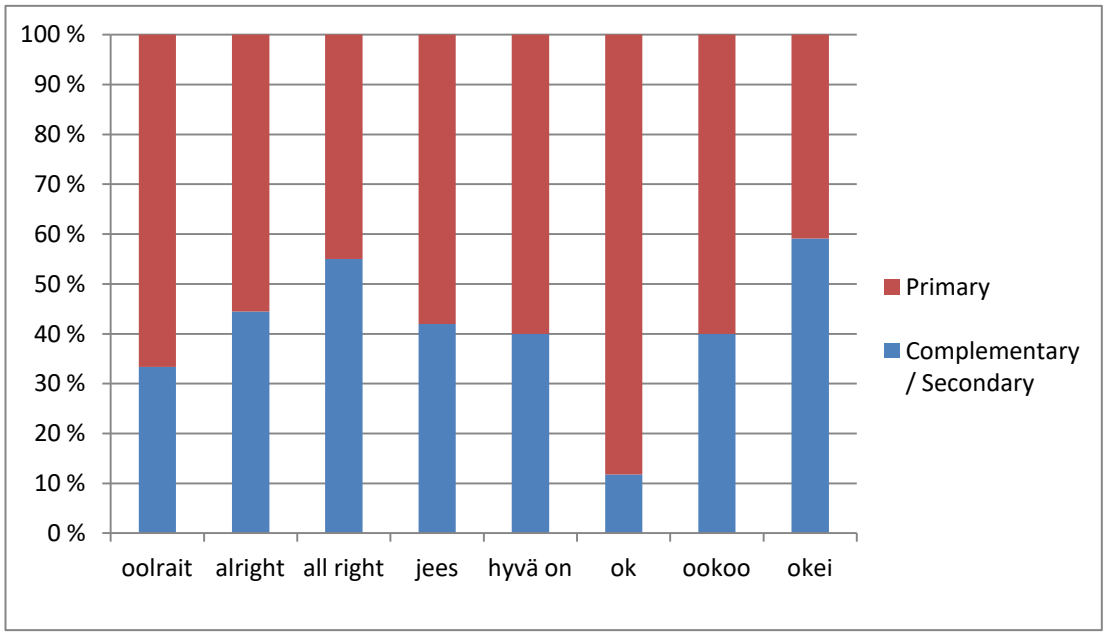

Figure 12. Ratio between primary and complementary / secondary acts in [Response] moves

Therefore, Figure 12 illustrates the ratio between primary and complementary and secondary acts in [Response] moves. In contrast to [Initiate] moves, in which *oolrait*,

alright, all right, jees, hyvä on, ok, ookoo and *okei* express mainly complementary and secondary functions, the expressions are more frequently used for primary functions in [Response] moves. Primary functions are the most frequent category in [Response] moves for all but two variables, *all right* and *okei*, which are mostly used for complementary and secondary functions. It is not surprising that primary functions are more predominant in [Response] moves than in [Initiate] moves as the most frequently occurring primary acts <agree>, <accept> and <acknowledge> in the data (see Figure 9) can only be used in reply and would thus serve no function in [Initiate] moves.

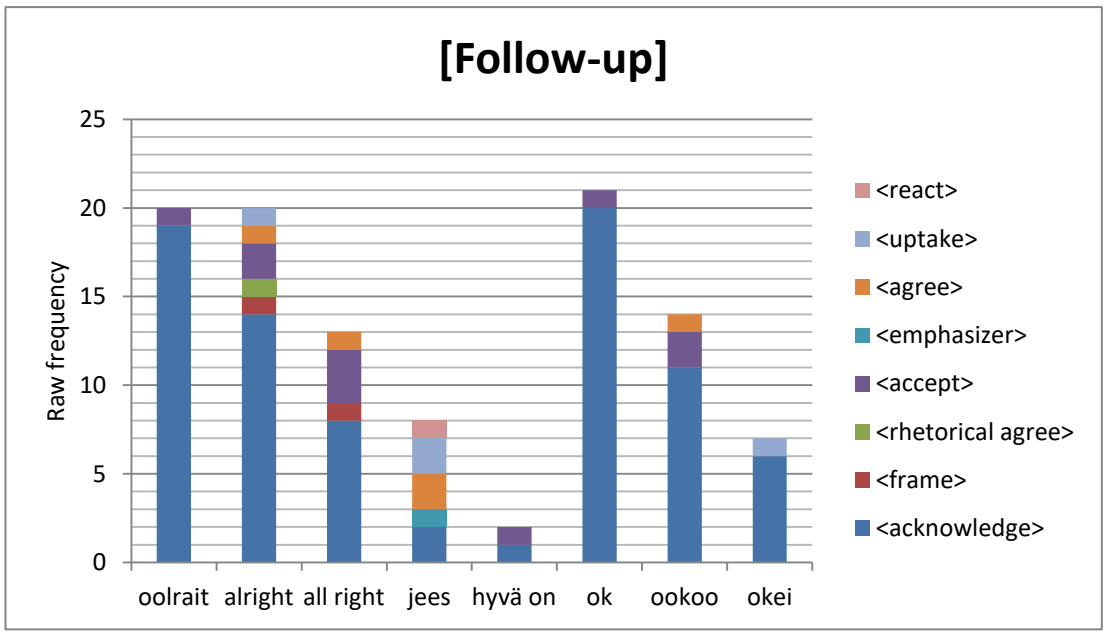

Figure 13. Acts in [Follow-up] moves by expression

Finally, Figure 13 displays the acts the expressions are used for in [Follow-up] moves. The contrast in the total frequency of [Follow-up] moves per expression is noticeable; *oolrait, alright* and *ok* are much more frequently used in [Follow-ups] than *jees* and *okei* which are less than half as frequent in comparison, and *hyvä on* which occurs only twice in [Follow-up]; once as an <acknowledge> and once as an <accept>.

Again, as with [Response] moves, primary functions are predominant in [Follow-up] moves. The functions of *oolrait* and *ok* are the same in [Follow-up] moves. They are only used for two functions; *oolrait* and *ok* mostly express the function of <acknowledge> but are also found as an <accept>. Similarly, *alright, all*

right, ookoo and *okei* are mostly employed in [Follow-up] moves as an <acknowledge>. In contrast, the functions of *jees* are rather evenly distributed; there is no one function that stands out. In [Follow-up], *jees* is used for the acts <uptake>, <agree> <acknowledge>, <react> and <emphasizer>.

5 Discussion

In the following, I first discuss the results of the analysis especially with regard to the hypotheses introduced in section 2.6. The findings of this study are compared to those in Stenström (1987). In addition, I discuss some unexpected findings that were not anticipated by the hypotheses driving this study. I continue by turning from functional acts to consider other factors that may influence the users' choice of variant. Finally, I consider the challenges of this study and how they affected the analysis.

5.1 Hypotheses and comparison to previous studies

The analysis shows that both of the hypotheses for this study were met; 1) *oolrait* is mostly used at the start of the sentence and 2) it mainly serves the functions of a [Response] and a <frame>. In Stenström (1987: 104) *all right* is found to be realized in [Response] moves most frequently as an <accept> but also as an <agree> and a <confirm>. The data for this study shows that *oolrait* is also used in [Response] moves as an <accept>, although it is most typically used as an <acknowledge>.

In addition, the data shows that *oolrait* serves the function of a [Follow-up] nearly equally as often as it is used in a [Response]. In Stenström (1987: 94) *right* is a much more common [Follow-up] move compared to *all right*. Nevertheless, *oolrait*, *alright* and also *ok* are found in [Follow-up] moves more often than the other variables in the study. The [Follow-up] is not a necessary move in terms of the minimal requirement to complete an exchange, but still it is a common move in discourse as its purpose is to make the other participant's contribution valid (Stenström 1994: 125–126). Example (13) from the data shows that when users start a new exchange they frequently choose to [Follow-up] and terminate the previous exchange in the same turn. (The topic of this thread is a certain motorboat model, the Simppu.)

(13) simputon:

Mitenkäs muuten olette Simpussa ratkaisseet perämoottorin kiinnittämisen veneeseen siten että moottori ei lähtisi ihan ensimmäisen "satunnaisen ohikulkijan" matkaan veneen ollessa yleisessä laiturissa? ...

'In what way have you fastened the engine on the Simppu to avoid it getting taken by the first "random passer-by" while the boat is still on the dock? ...' [Initiate]

simpura:

Ainakin omassa v. 2008 mallissa on moottorikaivossa runkoon pultattu rengas, johon moottorin voi lukita esim. ketjulla.

'At least in my 2008 model there's a ring bolted on the hull on which you can secure the engine with a chain, for example.' [Response]

simputon:

***Oolrait**, kiitos tiedosta.*
Mitenkäs muuten nuo säilytystilojen ovet/kannet, saako ne lukkoon jotenkin, että voisi hyvin mielin säilyttää tavaraa veneessä?

'**Oolrait**, thank you for the information. [Follow-up]
How about the stowage locker doors/hatches, can you lock them somehow to safely store stuff on the boat?' [Initiate]

(thread id 5342281)

In the third turn, the user simputon could have skipped the [Follow-up] "*Oolrait, kiitos tiedosta*" and started a new exchange with the question. However, simputon chooses to <acknowledge> simpura's [Response] with *oolrait* before starting the new exchange about stowage lockers. The analysis shows that this type of minimal acknowledgement of information is the most common function for *oolrait* in [Follow-up] moves in Finnish online discourse.

The <frame> function was the second most frequent function for all three variants *oolrait, alright* and *all right*. According to Matras (1998: 309), from a pragmatic point of view, discourse markers which have turn-related discourse functions are more likely to be borrowed than content-related markers. As the results of this study show, the <frame> which is used to organize the speaker's turn, is a very

common function for the anglicisms. These "gesturelike" expressions are more easily mixed with the recipient language as they are pragmatically detachable from the content of the message (Matras 1998: 309).

Even though the main functions of *oolrait* resemble those of *all right* in Stenström (1987), not all functions that were present in that study were found in this study. For one, no instance of *all right* constituting a question on its own was found in the data. This is not a surprising result, as it is a very rare function in Stenström's study (1987: 99). Also such a question would require a lot of situational information. Since the medium for this study is different from Stenström's (1987), some functions that are more common for spoken interaction were not found in the data. There were no closing exchanges as the end of the post or thread is enough to signal the end of the exchange. Neither did I find any backchannelling as concurrent feedback is not possible during someone else's turn in CMC. These are functions that could only be found in spoken interaction. A future study could investigate whether *oolrait* is used for these functions in informal spoken Finnish.

5.2 Unexpected findings

In the following I discuss findings that were not anticipated by the working hypotheses driving this study. The results show that in [Initiate] moves *oolrait* only fulfills a complementary function. In other words, the anglicism is only used to accompany a primary act. In thread-initial posts, *oolrait* was often found to signal the start of a new message. According to Stenström (1987: 96) *all right* was not used to introduce the first thing a speaker says, only to separate old and new exchanges. In my data both *oolrait* and *alright* introduce thread-initial posts. It is interesting that *oolrait* would be used for such a organizational function on a platform that is structured to arrange new discussions into separate threads. In other words, the existence of a new topic thread in the listing of threads should be enough to signal other users about a new message. In addition, the mere layout of the discussion thread should be enough to signal participants where the message begins. As such, *oolrait* or *alright* cannot have an actual organizational purpose in the message. Perhaps these discourse markers are used merely as social devices in order to make the discourse more colloquial and spoken-like by bringing in functions and items that would be more typical for spoken discourse.

Another interesting discourse function of *oolrait* is the <appealer> which prompts feedback. The data shows that Finnish has also adopted the <appealer> function of *all right* from English. Even though the <prompt> — as Stenström (1987) calls them — is one of the most frequent functions for *all right* in Stenström (1987: 115), I did not expect to find many instances of <appealers> in the data as I suspected they would be unnecessary on an asynchronous medium. Nevertheless, this function was achieved not only with *oolrait* but with *alright, all right, ok* and *ookoo* as well. This result shows that even functions which are not native to Finnish, have been borrowed. The interrogative tag in combination with a statement, as in Example (7), is not native to Finnish grammar. However, Finnish does employ the response particle *joo* in combination with the enclitic particle *-kO* in order to create a tag question that is used to ask for confirmation (VISK § 797). Example (14) provides an example:

(14) Mennään Nils joku päivä lounaalle sitte **jooko**. (VISK § 802)

'Nils, let's have lunch someday, **shall we**?'

In Example (14), *jooko* could be replaced with *oolrait, alright, all right, ok* or *ookoo* and the sentence would still be grammatical and hold the same meaning. However, *jooko* cannot be used in Finnish in all the same contexts as *oolrait*. As Example (7) above shows, *oolrait* can follow a statement or opinion, but *jooko* could not be used in a similar construction:

(15) *...Siispä: mulle ei ole ongelma, jos joku on homo ja hyväksyy sen. **jooko**?...

*'...Therefore: it's not a problem for me if someone is gay and accepts it. **shall we**?...'

As Example (15) illustrates, *jooko* in the position of *oolrait* in this context makes the sentence ungrammatical. *Jooko* is only acceptable in Finnish when it follows a request or a suggestion. *Jooko* can be used to make the utterance less like a directive and more like a request. For example, if *jooko* was removed from (14) above, the sentence would sound like an order and the interlocutor, Nils, would have no say in the matter.

Therefore, the question arises whether the <appealer> *alright* adds politeness to the request in Example (8) ("*Että laittakaahan tulemaan bändien/artistien TOP-5 perustelut... Alright?"*)? In this utterance *jooko* could very well replace *alright* without changing the meaning. It seems that in some cases the <appealer> function

of *oolrait* is used similarly to *jooko* in the sense that it "softens" the request. In the case of Example (8) the choice between the Finnish expression *jooko* and the borrowing *alright* seems purely stylistic as the function is the same.

Stenström (1987: 99) mentions that <prompts> — or <appealers> as they are called in this study — which are not responded to and therefore are used turn-medially, serve the function of a "social device" in discourse. As it would be impossible in CMC to interrupt a turn directly after an <appealer>, most of these instances in the data would indeed fall into this category. In contrast to spoken interaction, the medium of CMC does allow users to quote a certain bit from another message and reply directly to it. In this sense *oolrait* could be used as an <appealer> to draw attention to a certain statement in a longer message no matter where it is situated within the turn and get a direct response. In other words, the respondent could only quote the part leading up to the <appealer> and respond to the prompt. However, such cases are not found in the data.

5.3 Users of *oolrait* and motivations behind the choice of variant

The analysis shows that *oolrait* is not a frequent item in the corpus (see Table 3), which is somewhat surprising as the first attested use of the anglicism is from the 1930s (Paunonen 2000, entry for 'oolrait'). Another anglicism in the data, *okei*, is also first attested in Finnish in the 1930s (Paunonen 2000, entry for 'okei'). This anglicism, however, is much more frequent in the corpus. There are two possible explanations for the low number of instances of *oolrait* in the corpus. First, the anglicism may not be very wide-spread; possibly it never gained popularity or it has lost it. One explanation for why *oolrait* may have lost popularity is that language users preferred *ok* and its variants. Since both words have entered Finnish around the same time and they have more or less the same discourse functions, one could have easily gained popularity over the other. Nevertheless, *oolrait* has not died out and therefore it must serve some purpose in the language.

Secondly, the anglicism *oolrait* may be more frequent in informal spoken Finnish even though the language on online forums can be very informal. Then again, the variant *alright* which is English in its orthographical form, is found more frequently in the corpus. Perhaps the increased command of English among Finns explains the use of un-Fennicized orthography. Perhaps in the 1930s it would have been more commonplace to orthographically integrate the expression to Finnish, but

as language skills of the general public developed such a process may have become unnecessary. The national survey on English in Finland (Leppänen et al. 2011) reveals that the educational reform of the 1960s has affected the duration of Finns' English studies; respondents born before the 1960s have studied English less than those born in the 1960s and after (Leppänen et al. 2011: 94). Consequently, according to the survey, more than half of the 65 to 79-year-old respondents had had no English education at all (*ibid*.).

As there is no demographic information available on the language users in this study, I cannot investigate the age distribution of the users of *oolrait*. An investigation of the forum's topic areas in which *oolrait* appears does provide some demographic information. The sixth most frequent discussion area in which *oolrait* occurs is *Paikkakunnat* ('Districts') (see Figure 4) where users discuss various topics related to certain areas and districts of Finland. Table 6 below lists all the 20 sub-topics under the discussion area *Paikkakunnat* in which *oolrait* was found.

Table 6. Sub-topics under discussion area Paikkakunnat ('Districts')

Etelä-Karjala > Imatra
Etelä-Pohjanmaa > Ilmajoki
Etelä-Savo > Mikkeli
Etelä-Savo > Pieksämäki
Etelä-Savo > Savonlinna
Itä-Uusimaa > Porvoo
Kainuu > Kajaani
Kainuu > Suomussalmi
Kainuu > Suomussalmi
Kainuu > Yleistä Kainuusta
Keski-Suomi > Jämsä
Kymenlaakso > Hamina
Kymenlaakso > Hamina
Lappi > Rovaniemi
Pirkanmaa > Tampere
Pohjois-Pohjanmaa > Haapavesi
Pohjois-Pohjanmaa > Oulu
Satakunta > Pori
Varsinais-Suomi > Salo
Varsinais-Suomi > Turku

The table shows that none of these discussions deal with the Helsinki region even though the origin of the anglicism is Helsinki region slang. Of course these discussion sub-topics are open to everyone and therefore it is impossible to make

definite conclusions about where the participants are from, but the data does suggest that *oolrait* has spread from Helsinki into the vocabulary of other regions as well.

In any case, the analysis of *oolrait* shows that it has clear discourse functions in Finnish informal written online discourse. The comparison of the expressions shows for one thing that the two variants *oolrait* and *alright* seem to be used mainly for the same moves (Figure 7) and functional acts (Table 5). The third variant *all right* is also used for the same functions, but its distribution of moves is slightly different from those of *oolrait* and *alright*. This, of course, affects the acts *all right* was found to express. As *all right* was infrequently found in [Follow-up] moves, the number of <acknowledge> acts was also lower in comparison to *oolrait* and *alright* which were more frequent in [Follow-up] moves. Correspondingly, *all right* was more frequent in [Initiate] moves and was consequently used more for the <frame> function and other secondary and complementary functions. However, since *oolrait*, *alright* and *all right* share the same most frequent discourse functions in all moves and the differences regarding the distribution of these functions are so slight, the data would suggest that these expressions have no functional difference. Therefore, it seems that on the level of discourse function *oolrait*, *alright* and *all right* are variants of the same variable. Thus, the motivation behind the choice of variant must be something other than functional. Since the current study has no reliable demographic information about the language users available, I cannot make any reliable conclusions about the motivation to choose a certain variant. Nevertheless, in the following I discuss the possible reasons motivating the language users' choices.

There may be multiple reasons behind the choice of variant in discourse. One factor may be age. As the participants' ages are not available in the corpus, this study cannot determine whether or not age affects the choice of variant. However, the discussion topics displayed in Figure 4 above (section 4.1) include a topic called *Ryhmät* ('Groups') in which *oolrait* occurs 11 times. *Oolrait* is used 10 times in the sub-topic *Ikäryhmät* ('Age groups') which is further divided into different age groups. The age groups in which *oolrait* is mentioned are listed in Table 7.

Table 7. Use of *oolrait* in age groups

Age group	**frequency**
30 plus	1
40 plus	2

50 plus	1
60 plus	1
70 plus	5
total	**10**

According to the table, half of the instances occur in the age group 70 plus. There are no instances in age groups under 30. This is of course a very small sample for making any conclusions about the effect of age on the choice of variant. In addition, participation in the group discussion online does not necessary reflect the participant's actual age. Further studies would be needed to determine whether *oolrait* is indeed used more by the older generation than the younger. However, as previous studies have shown, the younger generation uses English more in their daily life than the older (Leppänen et al. 2011: 114) and is more likely to mix Finnish and English (Leppänen et al. 2011: 140). Therefore, a hypothesis could be proposed that the younger generation would be more likely to choose either of the variants retaining the English spelling; *alright* or *all right* and that the older generation due to their lack of exposure to English would choose the Fennicized *oolrait*.

Another factor that may affect the choice of variant could be an indexical purpose. Perhaps *oolrait* is a way of aligning oneself with a certain group identity. It may also be that *oolrait* is simply found to be more jovial and playful than just *ok* for example when used in a [Follow-up] move to acknowledge a response. *Ok* could be used to fulfill the same discourse function but it is certainly a more neutral and less marked choice compared to *oolrait* which, unlike *ok*, is not officially a part of Finnish vocabulary. In any case, future research is required to investigate the reasons behind the choice of variant. Also, a study could be conducted to determine what kind of person or social group Finnish people align the use of *oolrait* with in order to shed light on the indexical qualities of *oolrait*.

As Finnish orthography normally reflects how the words are pronounced in Finnish, the choice to use *oolrait* rather than *alright* or *all right* could also be related to Finnish phonology. Some language users may be inclined to read the variants retaining the English orthographic form as they would be pronounced according to Finnish phonology. Therefore, the choice to use *oolrait* which is orthographically closer to the word's phonological form might be a way to make the word more accessible to a Finnish audience as its pronunciation follows the same phonological

rules as the surrounding Finnish discourse. The orthographic integration may also be a sign of a stabilized borrowing. In his study of Finnish online chat language, Kotilainen (2002: 208) notes that orthographic integration into Finnish is most common with the most frequently used English expressions. However, as Table 3 shows, *oolrait* is not more common than the English variants *alright* and *all right* in the Suomi24 corpus.

Oolrait can also be used to signal a non-native accent in writing. One example of this can be seen in a discussion where one user switches voice to an imagined character. The topic of the thread is meeting and hitting on women. This example was not included in the data as *oolrait* occurs in an imagined quote rather than in real interaction, but as it reveals an interesting aspect about the use of this variant, I chose to include it in this discussion.

(16) *Suomen kulttuurissa cold approach does not work. Suurimmaksi osaksi Muuttajien iskuretoriikka pohjautuu että ylistetään mitä vain daamia suunnattomasti ja iskentä on iisiä ei-itseään peliin laittavaa "ou preti leidi juu mii tonait* ***oolrait****? "*

'In Finnish culture the cold approach does not work. For the most part, immigrants rely on flattering just about any dame immensely, and the chatting-up is easy and casual "*ou preti leidi juu mii tonait* ***oolrait****?*" [oh pretty lady you me tonight alright]'

(thread id 13356885)

In Example (16) the use of *oolrait* and indeed the spelling of the whole quote shows that the imagined "speaker" does not speak with a native accent, but is rather approximating the English phonemes. This is clearly a conscious choice to switch voice to a stereotypical non-native accent as the user does also codeswitch to English using English orthography at the start of the example (*Suomen kulttuurissa cold approach does not work*). As Kotilainen (2002: 202) notes, the use of non-standard orthography is not a sign of the user's weak English skills, but signals "metaknowledge" of language and how it is constructed. Therefore, *oolrait* can at least in some contexts be used to depict the phonological quality of a user's language skills.

According to the national survey on English in Finland, Finnish English was found to be the least attractive variety of English after Indian English (Leppänen et al. 2011: 72) However, "Finnish English was found to be more appealing as educational levels went down" (Leppänen et al. 2011: 72). Based on this statistic, one could hypothesize that education could be a factor in the use of the orthographically

integrated *oolrait* versus an orthographically English variant like *alright* for example. Furthermore, this choice could be used as a stylistic device to switch voice to or depict a less educated speaker.

5.4 Suggestions for future research and evaluation of the study

The discourse functions of *oolrait* in Finnish and *all right* in English seem to be relatively similar. However, one factor that the current study did not take into account is politeness. In other words, is there a difference between using *oolrait* or its variants in Finnish discourse and using *all right* in English in terms of politeness? For example *alright* makes the request in Example (8) more polite and less like an order in Finnish. In the English translation, *alright* seems to add a sense of expectation for the request to be fulfilled in the sense that it is more like a directive than a polite request. However, further research is required to ascertain whether this assumption is true. Future research could focus on the kind of speech acts that *oolrait* or *alright* combine with and whether they add politeness to the act.

I chose not to include *oolrait* used as an adjective: "*Teppo on oolrait*" ('Teppo is all right') or as an adverb: "*Lomat menevät yleensä oolrait*" ('Holidays usually go all right') in the data for this study. An analysis of the distribution of the expressions used as adjectives or adverbs versus interactional signals could be a topic for further research. This approach could reveal whether a certain variant is favored in adjectival use while another is more frequently used for interactional purposes.

The process of analyzing the data was not entirely problem-free. For example, the properties of Suomi24 sometimes made it difficult to analyze the exchange structure. This is due to the fact that participants can change their usernames from one message to the next, which makes it difficult to decipher whether or not the same person is replying. For this reason, I needed to rely on contextual clues. For example, in Example (2) there were only three turns in the whole thread and therefore the context suggested that the [Follow-up] was from the same user who initiated the exchange even though the username had changed.

The medium posed some challenges for the framework as well. In this study, I analyzed the position of the interactional signal within a sentence as the turns could be relatively long compared to the turns the model (see Figure 2) was designed for. A sentence was defined as a string of words separated by full stops. However, I did not take into account the possibility of non-standard punctuation. For example, where

there could have been a comma there was a full stop. For this reason, the data includes many instances where the variables constitute a separate sentence, which is only due to non-standard punctuation. Even instances of <appealers> cannot be seen in the data in a sentence-final position because they are separated by full stops from the sentence they refer to. In addition, sometimes users copied a part of another user's post in order to signal which part of the post they were responding to. In these instances I did not consider the quoted segments as part of the user's turn. Therefore, if a user's turn started with a quote, I would consider the start of their own utterance as the first position in the model.

6 Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to discover how the anglicism *oolrait* is used in Finnish online forum discourse. This was achieved by examining the discourse functions *oolrait* carries in the forum posts and by contrasting these results with the functions of equivalent expressions for *oolrait*: *hyvä on, jees, ok, okei, ookoo*. The purpose of the comparison was to determine whether *oolrait* has a unique discourse function in Finnish online discourse. In addition, the findings were compared to the functions of *all right* in English. The hypotheses driving this study were based on Stenström's (1987) study on the discourse functions of carry-on signals. The analysis in this study shows that the two hypotheses were met; namely that *oolrait* is mostly used at the start of the sentence and it mainly serves the functions of a [Response] and a <frame>. Other findings made in this study were that *oolrait* is equally often used in [Follow-up] moves as it is used in [Responses]. Similarly unexpected was the finding that *oolrait* is used for the <appealer> function in Finnish forum discourse.

In comparison to the other Finnish equivalents *hyvä on, jees, ok, okei* and *ookoo, oolrait* was much less frequently used in the corpus. In terms of discourse functions *ok* and *ookoo* resembled the functions of *oolrait* the most; they were mostly used to signal acknowledgment of another user’s message. Furthermore, *ok* and *ookoo* were the only other expressions along with the three variants of *oolrait* that were used for the <appealer> function. *Hyvä on* and *okei* mostly marked boundaries in the discourse which means they have a more organizational function. Contrastively to *oolrait* which was mostly used only to acknowledge what was said, *hyvä on* and *jees* were frequently used to give much more committed replies; *hyvä on*

signals agreement to suggestions and requests, and *hyvä on* and *jees* both are used to signal agreement with statements and opinions.

This study could not offer any reliable conclusion about the motivation to choose *oolrait* over the two other variants, *alright* and *all right*. However, this thesis was able to eliminate functional reasons from the list of possible motivations as the results showed that *oolrait*, *alright* and *all right* are mainly used for the same discourse functions in online forum discourse. Therefore, the study can only conclude that using *oolrait* is a stylistic choice rather than a functional one. This result is supported by previous studies which conclude that Finns readily use English as a resource in Finnish matrix discourse (Leppänen & Nikula 2007: 368).

Consequently, suggested topics for further research include investigating the motivations behind the choice of a variant that is orthographically integrated to Finnish according to its phonology, such as *oolrait*, or a variant that retains its orthographical form, such as *alright*. In this thesis, I have discussed multiple possible variables that may affect this choice. One of the first issues to investigate that was not possible within the scope of this thesis, is establishing the demographics for the users of *oolrait*. This would entail, for example, comparisons by age and place of residence which would establish whether or not age affects choice of variant and whether there is a difference between city and country dwellers.

The discussion in this paper suggests that *oolrait* may serve an indexical purpose as the orthographic form may be used to portray a non-native speaker of English or a less educated speaker. However, these suspicions need to be corroborated in future studies. A survey could be conducted to study the indexical features of *oolrait*, that is, to establish the social group that is associated with the use of this expression.

Regarding the use of *oolrait* there are also questions of identity that need to be addressed. In the scope of this study I cannot make conclusions about the extent to which the choice of variant is a personal stylistic choice. However, expressing one's identity and aligning oneself with an identity within the larger community may be an important part of the interaction on a public forum such as Suomi24. According to previous studies (see e.g. Leppänen & Nikula 2007: 368) English is effectively used to express identity. Therefore, choosing to use English expressions in Finnish matrix discourse may be a conscious choice for some users. The data used in this study is available (see Appendix 2 for a list of thread ids) for further investigation of the

users' individual language choices. Exploring the language choices of these users may reveal whether users of a certain variant are more inclined to use other English expressions in their posts. Such a study would, however, be easier to execute on a platform where users have the same registered username in each thread.

Further studies are required to study the state of integration of these expressions in Finnish. Firstly, as the data for the current study represents CMC, I cannot make conclusions about the use of these expressions in spoken Finnish. No doubt their discourse functions would change in a spoken medium. It would be interesting to observe whether *oolrait* is used for functions like backchannelling in spoken discourse or indeed if it is used at all among speakers of Finnish in Finnish matrix discourse contexts? [2] Secondly, as the current thesis did not take adjectives into consideration, further studies are needed to investigate the adjectival uses of *oolrait* such as establishing the sort of nouns that are usually modified by *oolrait*.

Future research could also investigate other pragmatic aspects of *oolrait* that were left uninvestigated in the scope of this thesis. For example, does the <appealer> function add politeness to requests or is purely a stylistic choice. In other words, does *oolrait* have other functions that the framework used in this study was not able to find?

As the discussion above shows, there are multiple aspects to the use of *oolrait* in Finnish that the current thesis could not investigate but are left for future researchers to ponder. Nevertheless, this thesis has shed light on the functions of *oolrait* in Finnish discussion forum discourse which serves as a starting point for further studies to build and expand on.

In conclusion, since the results show there is no functional difference between using the English *alright/all right* or the Finnish *oolrait* and that all of these variants are successfully used in Finnish interaction, the current thesis suggests that, similarly to the findings of previous studies (Kotilainen 2002), these expressions could be regarded as Finnish or as part of a shared variety of Finnish which reflects the community of practice on the Suomi24 discussion forum.

[2] I have once heard a Finnish lecturer start a lecture intended for a Finnish audience with *oolrait* which would be an example of marking the start of a turn, i.e. framing.

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Appendix 1. Acts found in the data

In cases where the original posts are very long I have only included the relevant parts of the adjacency pairs.

Primary acts	Example	Thread id[3]
<acknowledge>	A: " ....pidän raskaasta musiikista....tarkoitus olisi soittaa ja karjua lemminkäinen (hyh hyh hynynen) suohon..... =)" B: "**Oolrait**! Tsemppiä siihen karjumiseen. :)"	11604716
<accept>	A: "niin ensi kerralla, kun näemme, sinä nainen juokset kiljuen syliini ja kerrot tuntevasi minua kohtaan SUURIA tunteita. ;)" B: "**Oolrait**, voidaan kokeilla. Sinä kyllä pyörryt ensimmäisenä, pupuli :-)"	11731349
<react>	A: "YLE NÄYTTÄÄ SUORANA HOMOTANSSIT" B: "**Jees**!!"	13067004
<agree>	A: "'Aito avioliitto'-aloite tulee kaatumaan!" B: " **Jees**, näin on. Aloite tulee kaatumaan."	13553249
<evaluate>	A: "Ainahan Linda Manuela on ollut itsekeskeinen, narsistinen, tietämätön, hölmö ja häiriintynyt, sekä ruma." B: "Ruma...**OOKOO**...yks suomen kauneimpia..."	12966873
<smoother>	A: "En halua loukata kyselyilläin ;)" B: "**Oolrait** :)"	13510692
<confirm>	A: "Voisin veikata että sulle tuli Puska, Laaninen, Rehn ja joku 4. vielä?" B: "**Jees**, nuo nimet sieltä pullahti. Puska ensimmäisenä, Rehn ja Laaninenkin."	13465538
<answer>	A: "Jos irrallaan juokseva koira ryntää kansalaisen tai tämän lemmikin kimppuun ja tämä kansalainen tappaa sen niin saako itsensä/lemmikkinsä puolustaja sakot?" B: "**Jees**, saa: [link to another discussion]"	9962604

[3] Add thread id to the URL https://keskustelu.suomi24.fi/t/ to view the original discussions.

Secondary and complementary acts		
<frame>	[Thread-initial comment] "**Oolrait**, eli kärsin itse punoittavista kasvoista, tai pikemminkin poskista. Aloin sitten tuttuun tapaan yöllä mietiskelemään asioita, ja sainkin todella kaukaa haetun idean; ... "	12152111
<emphasizer>	A: "Lähetkö vaikka seuraks shoppailee? :))" B: "Voin lähtee.. kyllä. **Alright**. Yes."	11950240
<appealer>	"Joten kohtuullista olisi ettet ainakaan alkaisi tekemään johtopäätöksiä uskovien tosikkomaisuudesta sen perusteella, jos itse olet johdattamassa vastapuoltasi kirjoituksillasi. **Oolrait**?"	5829332
<uptake>	A: "Miten musta tuntuu, että melkein kaikki kauhutarinoita koskevat keskustelut pilataan jollain hemmetin ketjuviestillä... Siis oikeasti uskovatko ihmiset nykyään tuollaiseen???" B: "**Jees** sitä samaa ääkin [sic] olento täällä miettii :D"	2872380
<rhetorical agree>	A: "Jos ei totella, niin poliisilla on oikeus käyttää voimakeinoja." B: "OIKEUS TAPPAA? **OOlrait**! Pidetään tämä!"	10831613

Appendix 2. List of all Suomi24 thread ids in the data

The discussion threads can be viewed by adding the thread id to the URL https://keskustelu.suomi24.fi/t/. The thread ids can also be used as search criteria on Korp (korp.csc.fi).

oolrait	alright	all right	jees	hyvä on	ok	ookoo	okei
12607235	11627266	10612511	13502069	12924990	12450403	13449550	12904599
13191909	8684938	10678016	12591485	13496785	13054728	11971996	12957402
13376682	4357951	10730467	13459118	13313544	10580668	13236606	13103040
13056921	10761549	12807453	12213431	13490365	12948966	2583165	12162843
13002990	12751317	4524025	12966195	63086	12642293	13660391	13120203
5342281	13399296	10770249	12167064	12251256	12939870	949281	13668167
10660535	773612	12305515	13237227	13659026	11891214	12329910	12577175
11842682	11863943	10743989	12728997	8120692	13312524	13658332	13585998
11240084	10941583	10794981	5894135	6091334	13072128	11464398	9834527
8657720	11166737	8778394	9834527	12144098	13432471	12992418	13531675
5416022	12171979	11201752	13204029	12502298	9780184	3000784	6540821
13444241	13433577	12368915	8165322	13093659	12123450	11609484	13328301
13080906	11321896	4665996	13541068	13521036	11188262	12276765	11607035
12946266	10264962	11576408	2083864	12933126	12262188	13651897	13621348
12538988	9801094	12309928	10661568	13445242	12563027	12183755	13618787
10851586	10129315	13661273	12819474	12326522	12211187	10822495	12231668
11604716	10453281	11464808	11560203	13377942	13555273	5625390	12853461
10672996	10236723	11360635	9763838	13435352	13452149	11537495	13625020
11307547	10678426	10718945	13140033	12150176	11732917	13654939	12350779
11303978	10229355	12741846	12154656	13140039	12257776	10005315	13296813
13558398	11330612	12142770	13448356	13613943	13586644	10668279	13560575
12152111	9735884	12309928	13210218	71831	13506203	13313133	1089329
3134581	11513333	13426862	12063390	12857466	13671566	12579278	12795168
11332715	11703910	3771631	12647843	13424482	12203077	13656089	13251630
11744559	10205377	11238097	13553249	13474372	12156664	13156941	12230470
4223223	122397	10387300	13434757	12139491	12873813	13483032	6763743
5829332	10276524	12188641	13558805	12972540	12872097	12891051	12582863
11339047	11695919	10978859	9962604	13016826	12677207	8162650	13291095
10831613	10162758	13592890	12247343	12235005	13084566	12922083	13537006
9463358	11582331	10602653	13465538	13474406	12249504	11133817	3408063
11731349	10224608	11639997	13025514	12640349	13264653	12733878	13529160
11589143	10501730	13539929	13647766	12081033	13533470	12746907	12789843
12512285	11282576	10746323	2872380	12451165	13430407	12966873	13235037
12117227	10660357	9446735	936407	13370169	12806979	10087730	13556775
11648803	11052481	11360508	10490902	12202737	3706268	13488084	13305366
12779976	13466288	11013246	12631736	10167210	10765076	11637451	13659627
12689213	11450140	10446339	9798017	11740706	4471612	3126208	13655335
11708406	10989707	10193408	12134415	12917346	12898377	4234149	12334756
12459379	12509528	9569963	13557103	12653453	13455635	12725778	12824856
11914083	13442096	10472718	12988044	13038156	13518002	2189795	9629566
12819558	13280874	12169068	12288870	13049007	13140966	13280535	3969437
12720476	546340	10154893	11444826	11037479	11437022	12890703	12218839
13373835	11950240	12870423	13237227	9528707	12235170	12675530	6194872
12180790	11591027	12870423	12337346	12633197	3429822	13648401	12192109
13656932	11877571	12870423	13072101	13014096	13467853	12147094	13412592
11567604	10004707	9502319	13411133	4695821	12641846	12430149	13131753
11124164	11458819	12870423	13482397	13266909	12953616	12162035	13241466
594882	9896915	3771631	11791488	12566570	11644162	5974618	11660509
13510692	8664975	11022544	13433530	12989562	10996801	10785348	13522067
12192495	10236723	10942350	13067004	12608774	12548060	11939396	12119358